



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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27 June 1989

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CONTENTS

27 June 1989

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Chad

25-26 Jun Libyan Bomber Overflights Reported	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	1
JANA Report on Peace Talks Disputed	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	1
Sudan Coup Attempt, Khartoum Demonstration Viewed	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	1
Patriotic Front, UNIR Merge 22 Jun	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	2
Hissein Habre Discusses Draft Constitution	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	2
Constitutional Body Meets Council	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	2
French Official on Peace, Operation Sparrowhawk	<i>[Ndjamena Radio]</i>	3
Amnesty International on Detained Persons	<i>[Libreville Africa No 1]</i>	3

Zaire

Mobutu Discusses Visit to U.S., Belgian Ties	<i>[PANA]</i>	3
Sabena Authorized To Increase Number of Flights	<i>[PANA]</i>	3
World Bank Praises Management, Releases Funds	<i>[AFP]</i>	4
Agreement Reached on Program	<i>[Lubumbashi Mjumbe Radio]</i>	4
All Debts to African Development Bank Repaid	<i>[Bakavu Radio]</i>	4

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

F.W. de Klerk Continues European Tour	5	
Confers With FRG's Genscher	<i>[Hamburg DPA]</i>	5
Meets With Italian Foreign Minister	<i>[Johannesburg Radio]</i>	5
Denies Government-MNR Links	<i>[Maputo Radio]</i>	5
Meets Vatican Official; Ends Tour	<i>[Johannesburg TV]</i>	5
Addresses Press Upon Return	<i>[Johannesburg Radio]</i>	5
Commentary Examines Angolan Peace Prospects	<i>[Johannesburg Radio]</i>	6
Foreign Minister Botha on Apartheid, Namibia	<i>[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 19 Jun]</i>	7
Commission To Sign Nuclear Agreement in Moscow	<i>[SAPA]</i>	12
ANC Issues Statement on Mandela Death 'Plot'	<i>[PANA]</i>	12
Official Discusses National Management System	<i>[THE WEEKLY MAIL 23-29 Jun]</i>	12
DP's Zach de Beer Addresses Benoni Fundraiser	<i>[SAPA]</i>	15
Trade Surplus Drops 'Relatively Sharply' in May	<i>[Johannesburg Radio]</i>	15
23 Jun Press Review on Current Problems, Issues	15	
Press Review for 26 Jun	17	

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Savimbi Rejects 'Preconditions' for Talks	<i>[Johannesburg International]</i>	19
Not 'Prepared' To Leave Country	<i>[Johannesburg Radio]</i>	19
Hopes Joint Committee Works Quickly	<i>[Johannesburg Radio]</i>	20
Savimbi News Conference at Jamba Broadcast	<i>[Voice of the Black Cockerel]</i>	20
Press Release at 21 Jun Jamba News Conference	<i>[Voice of the Black Cockerel]</i>	21
Reportage on Gbadolite Summit Condemned	<i>[Voice of the Black Cockerel]</i>	22
Dos Santos Receives Zairian Envoy 24 Jun	<i>[Luanda Radio]</i>	22
Gbadolite Summit 'Challenge to Maturity'	<i>[Luanda Radio]</i>	22
Foreign Minister Not To Accompany Mobutu to U.S.	<i>[Luanda Radio]</i>	23

Mauritius

Opposition Leader Gaetan Duval Arrested <i>[AFP]</i>	23
Police Teargas Demonstrators <i>[BBC]</i>	23

WEST AFRICA

Ghana

Further on Government Crackdown on Churches	24
Police at Banned Church's Premises <i>[Accra Radio]</i>	24
Paper on Suspended Religious Sect <i>[Accra Radio]</i>	24
'Massive' Demonstration Staged <i>[Accra Radio]</i>	24
Religious Organizations Cautioned <i>[Accra Radio]</i>	24

Liberia

Defense Minister Suspended as Murder Suspect <i>[Radio ELWA]</i>	25
Dismissed by Doe <i>[AFP]</i>	25
To Face Prosecution <i>[Radio ELWA]</i>	25

Nigeria

Babangida Returns From Zaire Angolan Summit <i>[Lagos Radio]</i>	25
Closed Schools To Reopen Based on 'Merit' <i>[Kaduna Radio]</i>	26
Two Ondo State Schools To Reopen <i>[Lagos Radio]</i>	26
* NEC Cautioned on Guidelines' Enforcement <i>[Enugu DAILY STAR 23 May]</i>	26
* NEC Chairman Defends Party Registration Fees <i>[Enugu DAILY STAR 22 May]</i>	27
* Political Aspirants Said To Use Herbalists <i>[Ilorin SUNDAY HERALD 21 May]</i>	27
* Niger Delta Basin To Provide Most Crude Oil <i>[BUSINESS TIMES 22 May]</i>	28

Senegal

* New, Democratic Elections Advocated <i>[FAGARU Apr]</i>	28
* Joint High Commission Set Up With Libya <i>[LE SOLEIL 18-19 Mar]</i>	29

Chad

25-26 Jun Libyan Bomber Overflights Reported

AB2606194489 Ndjamenia Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Libya's unwillingness to make peace with Chad is further confirmed each day: first of all, by boycotting the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on the dispute between our two countries, which was held in Libreville and which is supposed to consolidate the restoration of relations in 1987.

This morning three Libyan bombers overflew Ounianga Kebir at 0830 while yesterday at 0600 a Libyan bomber overflew Aaba. This violation of Chadian airspace by Libya is clear indication of Libya's desire to make war on Chad.

JANA Report on Peace Talks Disputed

AB2406170689 Ndjamenia Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] A part of African and international public opinion, still not well-informed, is falling into the trap of Libya's international policy. Chadians, who live the daily reality of this policy, have long known that hypocrisy and mischief constitute the main code of conduct of the Libyan regime in its relations with other states. But more than that, it is the real hallmark of Libyan foreign policy. When Libyans tell you that they are your friends and that they are coming to help you, be on your guard; before they say so, they will have already started cutting the grass under your feet; and when they caress your neck, it is just to get you to lower down your guard to better behead you.

Therefore, since the suspension last Saturday [17 June] of the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on the Chad-Libya dispute, the Libyan news agency, JANA, which has built a reputation for itself in the field of lies and misinformation, has sought to hold Chad responsible for the failure of the talks. According to this agency for international manipulation, if there is any aggression being prepared against Chad, it is not by Libya but rather by Chadians themselves.

Now let us rather go to Libreville and see how this failure came about: As we have already said, on the eve of this meeting, the Chadian delegation went with the firm desire to discuss and attain peace in accordance with the agenda prepared and submitted to the two countries by Gabon, the host country and chairman of the OAU ad hoc committee. But to the surprise and great disappointment of the Gabonese side, the Libyan delegation categorically rejected the agenda that comprised the following two points: the settlement of the territorial dispute between Chad and Libya, and bilateral cooperation. Not only did Libya reject this agenda, which was, however,

quite clear and objective, but at the ministerial level, the Libyan side refused to discuss the minutes of the experts' meeting which was drawn up with the perfect agreement of Libyan experts. No doubt the Libyan experts will feel (?let down) by their country.

What conclusion can one objectively draw from this attitude? One can only conclude that the Libyan foreign minister came to Libreville with one and only one objective: to block the process and torpedo the negotiations in order to buy time; pretend to negotiate to appease the OAU; and throw dust into the eyes of Africans so as to resort to its favorite hobby: preparing a new aggression against Chad.

This is the unavowed goal of Tripoli. Chad, for its part—always more than ever ready to make peace—is sparing no effort to support the efforts of the OAU and its ad hoc committee so that the resolution of the last summit does not remain a dead letter.

Sudan Coup Attempt, Khartoum Demonstration Viewed

AB2506063889 Ndjamenia Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] In Sudan, the Libyan game is dangerously jeopardizing the existence of the regime of Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister of the ruling coalition. Indeed, more than 5,000 students and traders yesterday [as heard] demonstrated in the streets of Khartoum. The demonstrators chanted slogans hostile to the government, which, according to them, was incapable of providing the people with the basic necessities of life. They also denounced economic deterioration in the country. This demonstration took place about a week after the coup attempt against the Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi regime. The social and political atmosphere has considerably deteriorated.

A coup attempt and social demonstrations have occurred in the space of a week. In Sudan, each day brings its misfortunes, dealing further blows to the regime of Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the man who is the cause of this country's series of drifts. The military coup attempt and the popular demonstrations that have just occurred in Khartoum are the logical consequences of a marked deterioration of Sudan's social and political situation. Politically, the prime minister has entangled himself in the mess of the civil war in southern Sudan and has lost much political support as well as the support of the Army and the people for blindly following Libya's aggressive and adventurist policy.

Moreover, Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's acts, which are characterized largely by schemes and partisan maneuvers, have left little room for a much-needed social policy. Life in this large neighboring country is today characterized by a chronic shortage of basic commodities: Cooking oil, sugar, wheat, and rice are real luxuries for the average Sudanese. Sudan, which not long ago was rightly regarded

as the potential granary of the whole region, can today survive only through the support of the international community. The striking pictures of hunger in this country, which are being disseminated throughout the world, arouse emotion, but they are also proof of the incompetence and lack of concern of a regime primarily intent upon staying in power. Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi makes accusations against certain officials and foreign countries to explain his country's current instability, but this is merely a way to improperly conceal the blatant incompetence of the ruling coalition. The Sudanese have now reacted to demonstrate that they are completely fed up with Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's incoherent policy. They have also reacted out of bitterness and because they have gone without the basic necessities for too long. This has been too much for people who were once proud and dynamic.

Chadians, who have also been the victims of this policy, can only express their solidarity with the Sudanese people, with whom they have had excellent relations. The hardships they have been experiencing all these years will one day soon give them the necessary drive to cut short the adventure of the ruling coalition in Sudan.

Patriotic Front, UNIR Merge 22 Jun

AB2306071689 Ndjameña Domestic Service in French
2130 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Today the National Union for Independence and Revolution [UNIR] celebrated its 5th anniversary. The day was commemorated by meditation and proclaimed a public holiday. Activities to mark the occasion will be organized on 22 November. The UNIR's mission is to unite all active forces of the nation. This determination to unite the nation was demonstrated this afternoon by the merger of the UNIR and the Chadian Patriotic Front [FPT], which is made up of the Western Armed Forces, the Fundamental Chadian National Liberation Front [Frolinat], the original Frolinat, the Chadian People's Union, and the Coordination Committee of the Cadres and Militants of the Chadian Armed Forces.

During the merger ceremony, the secretary general at the permanent secretariat of the FPT, Dr Facho Balaam, said that they were happy to join the great Chadian family. He then invited his supporters to henceforth work together with the UNIR and the grassroots organs. Comrade Gouara Lassou, representing the head of state at the ceremony, welcomed (our new comrades) to the UNIR on behalf of the president of the Republic and all the militants.

Hissein Habre Discusses Draft Constitution

AB1406142889 Ndjameña Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The members of the Central Committee and the Constitutional Committee held a meeting this morning at the Ministry of External Relations under the

chairmanship of El Hadj Hissein Habre, president of the Republic, head of state, and founding chairman of the National Union for Independence and Revolution [UNIR]. [passage omitted]

After working for 5 months the Constitutional Committee has come up with the draft constitution that it presented to the members of the Central Committee. The draft will be presented in 2 days' time to the members of the National Consultative Council and later, in 4 days' time, to the government. It will then eventually be submitted to the people for approval. Speaking at the meeting, the head of state briefly reviewed the various stages of the work of the Constitutional Committee. Here is his address to the meeting this morning:

[Begin Habre recording] [passage omitted] The creation on 22 June 1984 of the UNIR as a vast, unifying movement was an important landmark in our revolution. This was inevitable, given the fact that everyone now knows what the Chadian people are capable of. They have organized themselves and mobilized around their leaders to take up the many internal and external challenges facing them. We can only defend and strengthen the achievements of our revolution in a context of political stability. Faithfully pursuing our progress toward new promising grounds, we set up a constitutional committee on 8 July 1988 charged with drafting a constitution that will provide the country with appropriate, stable, and viable institutions, a constitution that will take into consideration Chad's profound aspirations and its immediate political and economic realities.

Honorable members of the Central Committee, the long-awaited document is now in your hands for your critical review. This document, I should point out, is the result of methodical and steady work. The committee produced it after visiting all 14 prefectures of the country, where they held meetings with traditional rulers, cadres, and simple citizens from all walks of life. [passage omitted]

Dear comrades, the process leading to the adoption of this important draft constitution, the draft fundamental law of the Republic, has begun, and we are required to pursue it today. In the next few days, the government and the National Consultative Council will also be called upon to study and assess the document, and the whole process will be crowned with a national referendum on this historic document, which will thus become the product of the whole Chadian nation. This document will generate new great hopes for Chad, hopes that both present and future generations (owe it to duty) to translate into realities. I thank you. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Constitutional Body Meets Council

AB1606070589 Ndjameña Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpt] The Constitutional Committee this morning met with members of the National Consultative Council [CNT] in a continuation of consultations for a detailed

examination of Chad's future draft constitution. The president of the Republic, El Hadj Hissein Habre, who opened the meeting of the Constitutional Committee and the CNT, paid tribute to the national councillors for the role they play in national political life. The head of state asked the people's representatives, that is, members of the CNT, to properly examine the document prepared by the Constitutional Committee and to contribute to democratic and stable life in Chad. [passage omitted]

French Official on Peace, Operation Sparrowhawk

*AB2006211189 Ndjamaena Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 20 Jun 89*

[Text] France wants peace and stability that will bring about harmonious economic development in all countries of the world as well as social welfare for all peoples. This view was expressed here this morning by the French state secretary for defense, Mr Gerard Renon, to newsmen at the end of his meeting with President Hissein Habre. This opinion of the French Government is shared by the Chadian Government. Indeed, the government of the Third Republic has always encouraged a policy of good-neighborliness and cohabitation in all its declarations and its acts. Here is the French state secretary for defense:

[Begin recording] [Renon] I chose to come to Chad because we have very important relations in the defense sector due to Operation Sparrowhawk's being established here. I wanted to see how it was functioning, and I also wanted to know the Chadian authorities' opinion of this program.

[Unidentified reporter] What is the French Government's reaction to the new aggression being prepared against Chad from Sudan?

[Renon] France wishes to see peace prevail in (?all parts of the world). It wishes to see peace and stability prevail everywhere because they are essential to the development of all countries. A peaceful atmosphere will enable them to face their economic problems, and peace and stability are generally essential to the happiness of the peoples. We are watching for any sign that could compromise this peace, and we know that (?there is a misunderstanding) between Chad and Libya. We wish this conflict would end.

[Reporter] Mr Minister, taking into account this new situation, what can you say about the military cooperation between France and Chad and (?the role) of Operation Sparrowhawk?

[Renon] You know that Operation Sparrowhawk was reviewed recently and that no major changes were made.

[Reporter] But what about the changing situation here?

[Renon] If the change is really an important one, we will review this new situation and will reorganize Operation Sparrowhawk. [end recording]

Amnesty International on Detained Persons

*AB2206153689 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
1230 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[Text] Amnesty International yesterday called upon its members to write to Chadian authorities in Ndjamaena and express their concern over the fate of five Chadians in detention since last April following an attempted coup. The prisoners are said to be detained in solitary confinement, and the Chadian authorities are said to refuse to give any reason for their detention.

Zaire

Mobutu Discusses Visit to U.S., Belgian Ties

*AB2406154589 Dakar PANA in French 1207 GMT
24 Jun 89*

[Text] Gbadolite (Zaire), 24 Jun (AZAP/PANA)—Marshal Mobutu yesterday pointed out in Gbadolite (north-western Zaire) that he did not expect anything special from his visit to the United States.

"Much as I am the Zairian head of state, I think it is especially as a personal friend that Mr George Bush invited me," he explained during a news conference. "Next Friday [30 June] he is also doing me the honor and pleasure of being the first black African head of state to be officially received during his term of office," he added, emphasizing that "I am not expecting anything whatsoever. We are going to discuss bilateral cooperation and issues concerning Africa or elsewhere," he pointed out.

On whether the United States played any role in his mediation efforts in Angola, the Zairian head of state stated that he had the support of everybody [words indistinct] "they showed a lot of understanding," he pointed out.

The head of state also discussed developments in the Zaire-Belgium crisis and noted that the necessary arrangements are going well. He disclosed that high-ranking Belgian officials had been in Kinshasa since yesterday to meet with their Zairian counterparts in connection with the audience he granted to the Belgian prime minister in Dakar which led to the thaw in relations between Belgium and Zaire.

Sabena Authorized To Increase Number of Flights

*AB2406160889 Dakar PANA in French 1221 GMT
24 Jun 89*

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 Jun (AZAP/PANA)—The Belgian airline Sabena has been authorized to increase the number of its weekly flights to Zaire for the period between 24 June and 25 September, it was officially announced in the Zairian capital after Sabena's application had been granted.

According to the communique issued yesterday after a cabinet meeting chaired by Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo, Sabena and Air Zaire will each make three flights a week to Kinshasa and Brussels, as well as one flight in common.

The types of aircraft to be used for these flights are the DC-10 for Air Zaire and the Boeing 747 for Sabena. To make up for the resulting imbalance in freight capacity for Air Zaire, the company will operate a Kinshasa-Brussels-Kinshasa flight once a week using a DC-8 aircraft.

World Bank Praises Management, Releases Funds

*AB1506193889 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT
15 Jun 89*

[Text] Kinshasa, June 15 (AFP)—Conditions in Zaire are ripe for sustained economic growth, the World Bank's director for Africa, Paul Isenman, said here Thursday [15 June].

After a meeting with Zairean Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo, Mr. Isenman added that the international bank had released a second tranche of structural adjustment credits for Zaire worth 82.5 million dollars.

He congratulated the Zairian Government on its striking demonstration of good economic management in the past six months which had brought the rate of inflation down from 12 to 2 percent a month.

The Zaire currency had been stabilized and the gap between official and parallel exchange rates had virtually disappeared, Mr. Isenman said, but warned that renewed economic growth depended on "continued budgetary discipline."

After a year-long rift over what Zaire complained was a "negative transfer of resources," the government entered fresh deals with the World Bank on June 6 and with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on June 9.

Last month it paid around 79 million dollars in arrears to the IMF, an informed source estimated.

Agreement Reached on Program

*EA1606130089 Lubumbashi Mjumbe in French
0430 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Conditions between Zaire and the World Bank on the continuation of the adjustment program have been agreed upon. Mr Isenman, a director at the World Bank, said this at the conclusion of a meeting between the first state commissioner and a delegation of the (?financial institution). Zaire has managed its currency remarkably well. As a result, the World Bank has released its second tranche to ensure the continuation of the Zairian economy's stabilization program.

All Debts to African Development Bank Repaid

*AB1406130989 Bukavu Domestic Service in French
0430 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Zaire has repaid all its debts to the African Development Bank, ADB. This was announced at the end of the meeting of finance ministers and state commissioners in charge of finance in Abuja, the future capital of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This action by Zaire is the result of efforts made by the Executive Council as part of our economic revival.

F.W. de Klerk Continues European Tour

Confers With FRG's Genscher

*LD2206170289 Hamburg DPA in German 1509 GMT
22 Jun 89*

[Text] Bonn—In the view of Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the "immediate introduction of a national dialogue involving all population groups" is part of the path toward national reconciliation in South Africa. After a discussion between Genscher and Frederik de Klerk, South African political figure and future presidential candidate, the Foreign Ministry said that the lifting of the ban on political activity by the antiapartheid organizations and the release of all political prisoners, including civil rights campaigner Nelson Mandela, was part of this.

Meets With Italian Foreign Minister

MB2506053389 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] The minister of national education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, says that the Italian foreign minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti, is in agreement that South Africa should be given the opportunity to solve its own problems by negotiation without interference from outside. Mr de Klerk, who is also leader of the National Party, was speaking in Rome after hour-long talks with Mr Andreotti. He said the discussion had dealt mainly with developments in southern Africa, and that he had been impressed by Mr Andreotti's grasp of the complex situation in South Africa.

Denies Government-MNR Links

MB2606181089 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Frederik de Klerk, leader of South Africa's National Party, denied in Rome on 25 June that the South African Government has any links with the bandit gang [MNR—Mozambique National Resistance] destabilizing Mozambique.

De Klerk was speaking to the press after a meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti. He said that in his meeting with the Italian foreign minister he had discussed issues related to the situation in South Africa; the latest events in Angola, including the cease-fire agreed upon on 22 June; and the Mozambican war.

The Italian news agency reports that Italian Foreign Minister Andreotti asked De Klerk to abolish the apartheid system in South Africa, grant clemency to political prisoners, and release Nelson Mandela.

Frederik de Klerk arrived in Italy on 24 June after visits to the FRG, United Kingdom, and Portugal.

Meets Vatican Official; Ends Tour

MB2606165589 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1600 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] National Education Minister and National Party leader F.W. de Klerk rounded off his European tour at the Vatican today.

Mr de Klerk held talks with the Vatican secretary of state, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. A Vatican spokesman said that the 40-minute meeting had resulted in a deep exchange of information. No other details were released.

Mr de Klerk, who is on an official visit to Europe, has already met with senior government officials in Britain, West Germany, and Portugal.

Addresses Press Upon Return

MB2706090489 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0900 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 27 SAPA—The leader of the National Party and minister of national education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport near here after a week-long visit to Britain and Europe he had experienced a clear understanding of the complexities of South Africa's problems among the leaders he had met.

"I made it clear that South Africans would chart the future for themselves.

"In conveying this idea, no attempt was made to be prescriptive to South Africa."

There was a general agreement that no solution could be found for South Africa's problems by a strategy of violence—and there was a strong feeling against sanctions, the country's president-in-waiting told reporters.

Mr de Klerk was met by a number of cabinet ministers and about 200 supporters as he entered the arrivals hall about 9.40am.

The crowd sang two Afrikaans hymns and Die Stem [national anthem] and clapped warmly for a smiling Mr de Klerk and his wife, Mariske.

Flanked by the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, Mr de Klerk then addressed an international news conference.

The waiting press contingent had been informed by Mr de Klerk's media spokesman, Mr Casper Venter, that Mr de Klerk had an urgent meeting to attend which he had not known about and would therefore just read a short statement and answer a few questions.

He declined to say what the urgent meeting was about.

Mr de Klerk met Mr Margaret Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe in Britain, Dr Helmut Kohl and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher in West Germany, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and his foreign minister in Portugal, the Italian foreign minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti, and the prime minister of the Vatican. He also received a courtesy call from the Swiss state secretary at Zurich airport.

Impressions he would like to share after meeting these leaders included:

—The fact that he had been politely and warmly received by all leaders, none of whom had expressed unrealistic expectations.

—There had been appreciation for the constructive role South Africa had been playing in the southern African region, and Mozambique was being seen as playing a key-role in securing a stable sub-continent.

Mr de Klerk also said his visit had served to further promote South Africa's interests, and he was satisfied with the rapport he had built up with the leaders he had met.

Asked the government's view on the possible release of Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk said government had made it clear in the past that it would welcome a situation where Mr Mandela could be constructively involved in finding solutions.

But Mr de Klerk said his main priority now was to win the September 6 general election for his party.

Asked what the European leaders wanted to see developing in South Africa, Mr de Klerk said the first step was to "broaden and intensify the base of discussion".

In general there was a feeling that as long as change was visible in South Africa, there would be understanding for it abroad.

On a possible meeting between Mr de Klerk and Zambia's president, Kenneth Kaunda, Mr Pik Botha said the government would first have to establish what Mr Kaunda meant.

The matter would then have to be discussed with the state president, Mr P.W. Botha—"hopefully today still" —and then a decision would have to be taken.

Asked about demonstrations against him in Britain, Mr de Klerk said he did not think such demonstrators affected what the ordinary people thought.

"It is not of course pleasant to be shouted and booed at, but it is part of the job."

Mr de Klerk said President Botha was the man who had launched the reform process in South Africa.

"I am continuing as leader of the National Party on the foundation he ... laid."

Mr Pik Botha said reports from all South Africa's embassies in countries Mr de Klerk had visited had been "very encouraging".

Asked about a possible meeting between Mr de Klerk and U.S. President George Bush, Mr Botha said such a meeting was on the cards, and an announcement would be made later.

Mr Botha said the United States Government had made it clear that it wanted to meet as wide a spectrum of South Africans as possible.

Commentary Examines Angolan Peace Prospects

*MB2706054489 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 27 Jun 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The cease-fire that is now in force in Angola is the beginning of what is likely to be a protracted search for peace in that war-torn country. For 14 years there has been a civil war that has brought devastation to the economy of Angola and immense human suffering.

One hundred thousand people have been killed in the war, and the ravages of the conflict mean that 55,000 infants die very year, 400,000 Angolans have fled their homeland, and almost 750,000 have been displaced inside the country. Another 20,000 Angolans have lost limbs, the highest number in any country in the world.

Last week, at Gbadolite, Zaire, the leader of the two warring factions, President dos Santos of the government MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and Dr Savimbi of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], shook hands and agreed to cease hostilities and to talk about national reconciliation and peace. The road to that goal is likely to be a long one, with many pitfalls along the way.

Already, there is much uncertainty and disinformation. President dos Santos wants Dr Savimbi to go into exile during a transition phase but Dr Savimbi insists that he will remain leader of UNITA and take his place in the peace negotiations. Dr Savimbi wants free elections, but there is no indication that President dos Santos is prepared to put the MPLA's popular su. Dos Santos wants UNITA's military and civilian components incorporated into MPLA structures but Savimbi appears to be opposed to this.

Despite these and other pitfalls that undoubtedly lie ahead, a start has been made, and the most important breakthrough at Gbadolite was that the MPLA regime finally acknowledged that UNITA is indispensable to a

lasting peace in Angola. If the MPLA makes sincere efforts to accomodate UNITA, there can be hope for Angola. If not, the peace initiative started at Gbadolite is doomed to failure.

On the broader canvas, events in south-western Africa, in Angola, and in South-West Africa/Namibia have long been intertwined. Angola was embroiled in the situation that saw cross-border raids by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] into South-West Africa/Namibia, and events in South-West Africa/Namibia had an impact on the situation in Angola.

The historic agreement signed by South Africa, Angola, and Cuba in New York last December involved both countries, providing for independence in South-West Africa/Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Although the civil war was not mentioned by name, there was an implicit commitment in the New York agreement to peace in Angola.

The factors that linked events in South-West Africa/Namibia and Angola are still present. For example, if the cease-fire in Angola is exploited by one or other party to create renewed destabilization in southern Angola, there will be the risk of unrest spreading to South-West Africa/Namibia. By the same token, if the independence process in South-West Africa/Namibia is derailed for some reason or other, the impact will inevitably be felt in Angola as well.

The peace initiative launched at Gbadolite must be welcomed as constructive and promising. At the same time, the stability and security of southwestern Africa as a whole demands that all parties be sincere in their commitment to independence in South-West Africa/Namibia and to peace in Angola.

Foreign Minister Botha on Apartheid, Namibia
AU1906175789 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
19 Jun 89 pp 132-140

[Interview with Foreign Minister Roelof F. "Pik" Botha by Paul M. Schumacher and Siegfried Kogelfranz in Cape Town: "The Government Does Not Like Apartheid"; date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Minister, formerly German South-West Africa is turning into Namibia. Apartheid has been eliminated there: At the elections in November white and black citizens will have equal rights to vote. What does this mean for South Africa?

Botha: We in South Africa have to solve our problems ourselves, under our own conditions, which differ from those in Namibia.

DER SPIEGEL: Namibia is not just any one country. It has been linked to South Africa for a very long time. You yourself have a great share in the process which leads to

Namibia's independence, and the core of the problems of both countries can be easily compared: In both countries a white minority is facing a black majority.

Botha: No, I do not see this in that way. The principle remains, even though Namibia is a neighboring country and has long been linked with us; the principle is and remains that we have a completely independent international status. I have always decidedly been of the opinion that South Africa should not try to force any system on Namibia. Why should I now use Namibia as an example?

DER SPIEGEL: The abolition of apartheid in Namibia and the principle of "one man, one vote" for the forthcoming elections, which have all been approved by South Africa, certainly means something for this country—which allegedly is also trying to get rid of its petrified racist system.

Botha: It is the business of the South Africans, not just the white South Africans, to decide our political future. We accept that white supremacy has to come to an end here, too, and we know that any future system in this country must find widespread recognition among all South Africans.

DER SPIEGEL: If one looks at the current conditions in South Africa, this sounds like dreams of a very remote future. In Namibia it took more than 1 decade from the passing of the UN peace plan according to Resolution 435 to the signing of the agreement. Do you think that you still have that much time for reforms in your country?

Botha: When President Botha made his basic statements on reforms in South Africa, a wave of international actions against us started immediately, because those forces that do not want us to make progress on the democratic path tried to attain their goals through the use of force. This hinders our reforms. It is certainly not South Africa's fault that the Namibia solution had been delayed for such a long time. As early as in 1979 we were ready to fulfill the conditions of UN Resolution 435, which still is the basis of the agreements on Namibia. It was the guerrillas of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO] who strictly refused any inspection at that time.

DER SPIEGEL: This is your opinion, but blame is divided among the parties and therefore it probably does not rest quite as one-sidedly with the black liberation movement in Namibia.

Botha: We have long grown accustomed to the fact that every time an agreement is broken South Africa is made the scapegoat. However, whenever SWAPO does something like this, there are always 10,000 excuses.

DER SPIEGEL: Could you not establish a symbol of your goodwill and order the release of black leader Nelson Mandela? You should certainly be able to release this old man after more than a quarter of a century in prison.

Botha: This is a very difficult question. I assure you that, as foreign minister, I know very well how much damage this matter does to our international reputation. If he were to foreswear violence he would be released immediately. Our president has often wanted Mr Mandela to help him in releasing him unconditionally.

DER SPIEGEL: But precisely your conditions are the problem.

Botha: It will be difficult to explain to my country's public if the release of a man is linked with even more violence, more tension, and new arrests. I myself would be very pleased to see the day on which Mr Mandela is released unconditionally.

DER SPIEGEL: Violence is not only used by the militant liberation movement, the African National Congress, but also by the state. A new example of violence is, for instance, the assassination of David Webster, a liberal university lecturer. There is obviously a secret rightist organization, some sort of death squad, behind this. Is a new danger threatening your country from this side?

Botha: There is also violence in your country—just think of the Baader-Meinhof gang. One of my own meetings was disturbed by force—in my own country—and I was not able to do anything about it.

DER SPIEGEL: Therefore, are the violent actions of white extremists increasing?

Botha: You may be right. However, I think that these are still sporadic incidents. We will have to react to them. The principle, according to which violence is impermissible as a means to achieve political goals, also applies to the rightists.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Botha, you are a successful foreign minister. The Namibia solution also works, not least, to your credit. Opinion polls show that you could become South African president if this post were awarded in free elections. Nevertheless, your own party refuses to support you; twice you have sought the candidacy in vain. Are you too liberal for this society?

Botha: I have reached the conclusion that in this country running for president is incompatible with the function of a foreign minister.

DER SPIEGEL: Let us discuss your activities as foreign minister further. You mentioned that the Soviet Union and South Africa have the same problems. They also have the same natural resources, such as gold, uranium,

and diamonds. If the two countries could agree on marketing these resources, they could exert a lot of pressure on the rest of the world.

Botha: I do not think that we should cooperate like the oil-producing countries, for instance. This would be counterproductive. But there are certainly sectors in trade, production, and sales where cooperation might benefit not only my country and the Soviet Union, but also other states in southern Africa and even in Europe.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you perhaps want to proceed from Mr Gorbachev's idea of the "common European home"?

Botha: As of 1992 Europe will try to develop into a superpower. This is how I see the matter. I think that historically, this is the correct point in time. In this connection, I would like to mention the Marshall Plan. Why was it so successful in Germany? A large part of your country was destroyed. But, the abilities of the Germans had been preserved. Therefore, financial means, talents, and the developed infrastructure coalesced and this then ensured Germany's fabulous success after the war.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you see this as an example for southern Africa?

Botha: Yes, I do not want to claim that there is an exact parallel. However, Zambia's President Kaunda recently for the first time expressly counted South Africa among those states in southern Africa which should in his opinion engage in close economic cooperation. We have experience that was brought to us by German, French, Dutch, British, and Italian investors. There is a lot of technology here, European technology. Europe could contribute to a development program, one that provides means for a limited period of time to us all, South Africa and other nine states. Therefore, all of southern Africa could become Europe's reliable partner. Our countries have unimaginable natural resources and opportunities for healthy agricultural production.

DER SPIEGEL: That sounds good but some obstacles will have to be removed. For example, in your neighboring country to the northeast, Mozambique, there are still the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) rebels who carry out useless massacres and who devastate the country.

Botha: You are right.

DER SPIEGEL: The whole world has the impression that South Africa is backing them.

Botha: I emphatically deny this. We have formed a commission with Mozambique. If there are any facts that substantiate such accusations, we will immediately take action against this. At this very moment our two governments are discussing ways and means to end the war.

DER SPIEGEL: However, weapons, ammunition, and war material for Renamo do not fall from heaven but rather, regardless of in what way, probably come from South Africa.

Botha: That is not true. A large number of these arms and ammunition come from the arsenals of the government forces.

DER SPIEGEL: It can be proven at least in some cases that there are still connections between South Africa and Renamo.

Botha: Then prove it. I am awaiting it. I assure you once again that the government of which I am a member wants to end the war.

DER SPIEGEL: Are there perhaps forces in your country which your government cannot control?

Botha: Maybe. They also exist in Germany, Portugal, and Brazil. Check it out. I occasionally spoke to these gentlemen. We even know their names.

DER SPIEGEL: That is to say, you know the people who supply Renamo with weapons.

Botha: Yes, two of them are living in Brazil. They are wealthy gentlemen who have lost much. One claims that the Mozambican Government confiscated his oil refinery. When I mentioned this to the Maputo Government, I was told: "We offered to compensate him for it but he is demanding more than we are able to pay." I received one of these gentlemen here in South Africa to convince him that he should stop this nonsense.

DER SPIEGEL: Yet the nonsense does not stop.

Botha: In 1984 I received representatives of the Mozambican Government in Pretoria. For 1 week, we worked day and night; pros and cons were considered for attaining an armistice. We succeeded in principle. Then, one afternoon, one of the Renamo participants received a telephone call from a European country. Immediately afterwards he broke off the talks. I wanted to fly to that country on the same day. However, suddenly the ambassador of that country appeared at the airport and told me that his government was unable to receive me at present.

DER SPIEGEL: Will you tell us what country this was?

Botha: No, but I will tell you something about another country. Franz Josef Strauss spoke with Mozambican President Chissano and asked him: "Who supports Renamo? South Africa?" The answer was: "Yes, I believe that there are elements in South Africa, but not primarily South Africa."

DER SPIEGEL: What do you think will happen in South Africa after the September elections? Will the presumable winner of the elections, the National Party, which has now been in power for more than 4 decades, really be able to abolish the basic apartheid laws?

Botha: At present, our most important tasks are the release of Mr Mandela and others, then the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

DER SPIEGEL: The latter is indeed one of the most abominable racist laws established, because it still stipulates the racial classification of every newborn child in this country.

Botha: We will allocate due attention to this issue. The racist stigma has to be abolished; this is completely clear.

DER SPIEGEL: Otherwise there will never be a Marshall Plan, it is also clear.

Botha: Exactly, and this is only fair. An event which we call a "great indaba," a large-scale round of negotiations, is required. You know that we cannot achieve this in 1 or 2 months. However, on the other hand, who would have predicted 1 year ago that we would sign a three-page agreement with Namibia in December 1988?

DER SPIEGEL: This was indeed a surprise.

Botha: You see, this is my message. Two governments that are so diametrically opposed as Cuba and South Africa were finally able to come to terms. Why? I believe this is because both sides realized, without having ever admitted this, that war is no solution. We need the same thing in this country. The majority of whites have to realize that the present system cannot work. And, at the same time, the majority of our black citizens have to realize that the events in the rest of Africa have not been nice, either. In such a situation things will get moving, in my opinion, even faster after the elections.

DER SPIEGEL: We would like to share your optimism, but we are afraid that you are the voice in the wilderness who might face a long haul. By the way, is it true that you like to drink the typical beer of the African blacks, maize beer? Or, do you only do so in order to present yourself as a real African?

Botha: No, no. I grew up with it. I grew up together with blacks on a farm. We went together swimming and hunting. We herded sheep together on the veld [countryside]. I assure you that I like to drink maize beer.

DER SPIEGEL: Then we will look forward to the day when you will drink a jug of your favorite beer together with Nelson Mandela.

Botha: I am also looking forward to that. You must believe me: I want to achieve a successful conclusion for Namibia, if I can. I will continue my initiative for

Mozambique. We have to push through economic reforms in our own country. We can release Mandela tomorrow, we can abolish all the laws you want, and yet I predict that in 5 to 6 years this part of the world will be wiped out without a solid economic foundation.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Minister, thank you for this interview.

Commission To Sign Nuclear Agreement in Moscow
MB2706093089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0928 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 27 SAPA—ESKOM [Electricity Supply Commission] is to sign a "world nuclear power agreement" in Moscow according to a press statement by the company's communication department.

"This is possibly the most significant development in world nuclear power cooperation and safety yet seen—its importance is hard to overestimate," the statement said.

A communication department spokesman, Laetitia van Staden, told SAPA it was clear some members of the press had endeavoured to preempt this afternoon's announcement on the historic accord.

"It's quite clear they got their information from the invitation," she said.

ANC Issues Statement on Mandela Death 'Plot'
MB2606180389 Dakar PANA in English 1750 GMT
26 Jun 89

[Text] Dakar, 26 June (PANA)—The African National Congress (ANC) has said that the malicious report carried in the British Intelligence Digest for June, to the effect that it has evidence of a plot being hatched in the ANC, to assassinate South African nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, sets an all-time-low for the abyssmal ethican standards practised by that journal.

In a statement received by PANA on Monday, the ANC unequivocally states that there is not and there cannot be any such conspiracy to assassinate a single one of our political leaders, least of all Comrade Nelson Mandela, organized in the ranks of the ANC.

We defy the editors and owners on British Intelligence Digest to produce the evidence they claim to possess. We challenge them to stop skulking behind the cover of informed sources and other anonymous informants and present before the court of international opinion the sources they claim advised them of these vicious lies, the ANC says.

However, we do not lightly dismiss the libels published by this scandal sheet. They are part of a pattern of psychological preparation of South African and international opinion for some act of foul play being plotted by enemies of the oppressed people of our country.

Past experience warns that these will seek to shift the blame for the crimes onto the guiltless. The cowardly murder of Comrade Dulcie September in 1988 is a case in point, it further states.

The liberation movement points out that it has become the practice of sensation-seeking journalists and all manner of mischiefmakers to speculate about tensions and divisions within the leading organs of the ANC.

True to this pattern, it says, British Intelligence Digest and Africa Analysis make extravagant claims of differences between alleged nationalist and communist factions in the ANC.

Our people and the international community should, in the light of these groundless assertions, exercise maximum vigilance to safeguard and protect the lives of Comrade Mandela and other ANC leaders. The provocations that today emanate from these sources can serve but one purpose—to sow confusion amongst our supporters and to provide a ready-made alibi for the racist death squads that have recently subjected the ANC to a systematic campaign of assassinations and attacks against our personnel, the ANC says.

We admonish the editors and owners of these journals to consider well the consequences of the libels they see fit to print. We reserve the right to call them to account before the competent authorities, it concludes.

Official Discusses National Management System
MB2406124189 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 23-29 Jun 89 p 9

[Text] Why is the erstwhile National Security Management System now called the National Management System [NMS]?

Because it used to be concerned only with security; and now it's concerned about everything.

That was the substance of Lieutenant-General Charles Lloyd's answer to a question about the system's change of name.

"What made it necessary is the security situation, because you cannot play around with the security of your country. That is why we went for management by objectives—because we must maintain security.

"So therefore you must have specific objectives in this field because we will never have enough resources to fulfil all the needs of the people," he said.

But other uses were soon found for it.

"We learnt that this management instrument that was established initially for state security purposes, and then for crisis management ... can actually be applied in your general government affairs, because you must deal with priorities."

The aim is to get all government departments, and the private sector, to co-ordinate their actions.

"We must try to work together and complement each other, and not work against each other, and this can only be done if you work as a team and if you get your actions co-ordinated.

"That's why, actually, we started with security, but at the present moment in time we have discovered that this horizontal system of co-ordinating is a most useful tool."

As the system has become more extensive it has also become more visible. A result is that its coordinators are making vigorous efforts to free it from its image as a shadowy alternative government.

"The system has become more visible in the last two, three or four years. Before that it was regarded as a very secretive organisation.

"People didn't see the system. That is one of the reasons for this cloud of secrecy. It was something sinister that was being written about.

"Nowadays I think you can go to the smallest hamlet in the country and ask people about the JMC [Joint Management Center], and they'll know about it. It's visible now."

Its officials are making sure that with the greater visibility comes greater acceptability.

Last month SATV [South African television] carried an extensive interview with Lloyd. And the system's Pretoria headquarters moved this week from their nondescript offices in the city centre to more spacious surroundings in the suburb of Arcadia.

As Lloyd explains it, the system is headed by the State Security Council [SSC]. Formally this is only one of four cabinet committees—the others being political, economic and social.

The SSC is headed by President P.W. Botha with Lloyd as its secretary. Other permanent members include the ministers of defence, law and order, justice and foreign affairs, and each of their departmental directors general. It also includes the director general of national intelligence and the senior cabinet minister.

Lloyd confirmed the widespread belief that the SSC meets the day before each cabinet meeting.

"After every session of the SSC, as secretary I minute all the decisions and the guidelines they have decided on and I summarise them for the state president.

"The next day is the cabinet meeting during which the state president will then inform the cabinet of the decision of the SSC," he said.

Lloyd is keen to dispel notions that the cabinet has served merely as a rubber stamp for the political decisions of the SSC.

"The SSC is not actually taking decisions on its own without the cabinet knowing of them.

"Certain things have got to be referred to the cabinet for approval and other minor things, within the policy decisions already taken, can be decided on by the SSC who pass on the decisions to the heads of department who will carry it out."

While this has always been the *de jure* position there have been frequent reports that the *de facto* situation was that the cabinet never went against the SSC's recommendations. According to Mark Swilling, of Wit [Witwatersrand] University's Centre for Policy Studies, this has started to change under F.W. de Klerk's leadership of the National Party. He said the cabinet's decision to release the hunger strikers went against the SSC's recommendation—for the first time since P.W. Botha came to power.

Below the SSC is a working committee consisting of the heads of government departments. This has an executive of sorts, called the "smaller working committee" which is made up of the government department heads dealing directly with security matters.

These working committees decide what recommendations to submit to the SSC. Once the SSC has made its decision the relevant working committee ensures it is implemented.

Below these committees are 11 regional Joint Management Centres which correspond with the SA [South African] Defence Force's [SADF] territorial command regions. These are made up of SADF and South African Police senior officers and other government officials.

Leaders of the organised private sector participate in the Joint Liaison Committees which attempt to coordinate the activities of the JMCs and the private sector.

Below the 11 JMCs are about 350 mini-JMCs which are made up primarily of security force members, government officials and members of local authorities. Again they coordinate their activities with Joint Liaison Forums which include members of the private sectors.

In larger areas, the mini-JMC's have sub-committees dealing with welfare, the security forces and communications.

Lloyd explains the system as one of horizontal management.

"Your normal management system is your line functions which are managed from the top down, but this system of co-ordination crosses the functional line of various departments at specific levels. The NMS is managing sideways."

Its key aim, he said, was to ensure that government departments do not work against each other.

Lloyd and his colleagues are keen to dispel suggestions that they serve as some kind of extra-parliamentary government.

"It is people who are not informed who say such things," he insists.

He argues that the system is ultimately answerable to the government in power—"(it) doesn't matter what political party it is.

"We are not running loose outside with nobody to control us. We are answerable through the SSC to the cabinet."

He also points out that the system has no executive powers and no budget of its own. Funding takes place through the various government departments involved and is therefore not reflected as a separate item in the general budget.

And the government officials within the system are ultimately responsible to their heads of department and ministers.

General Lloyd in his own words:

On the role of the NMS:

"It started off as a counter insurgency, counter-revolutionary organization. But it serves such a useful purpose to coordinate activities. For example, when we had the floods in Natal and the Free State ... the mini-JMC was the coordinating organisation. It's management system which is a generally accepted management system throughout the world. I can give you a book dealing with that kind of matrix management."

On its function:

"It's a matrix management system managing from the side in order to coordinate the activities of those people who are responsible to the heads of government departments and to a political head. In the end it is just providing a service to all of them enabling them not to work against each other, but to get their activities on the ground synchronised."

On its success:

"It is a management aid for people who are in charge, and it helps them to execute their missions successfully. And it makes things much easier for them—it makes sense. Within the government set-up I must say that there is now really an understanding of the situation, whereas in the beginning we were seen as something you must handle with suspicion."

On its profile:

"I don't think it has a higher profile. I think it's just a question of being more visible."

On its ability to channel information:

"The people who come forward with the solutions to the problems are the people on the ground. But there again this will work right up to the top and you get your top people now to realise the existence of the problem on the ground ... Then the people on ground level will say, now they want to make people happy, what must they do? So it's top-down, bottom-up. And it's teamwork all along at the various levels. It's a two-way channel of communication, actually."

On its political programme:

"We must, of course, give the enemy as little opportunity as possible to exploit the situation psychologically, and therefore that is why the very first principle of counter-revolutionary war is good government. And there is nothing to replace good government."

"So therefore you must work on things like soccer fields and transport and housing. That's why these things are so important."

On the rationale for detaining activists:

"Oh yes. It is part of the security forces' strategy ... because the enemy come with various tactics aimed at the mind of the people. And they mislead them, they disinform them. They make promises. They are not expected to render the proof today. But eventually when they are told to prove their promises, then it's too late, then they have the power."

On counter-revolutionary theory and practice:

"You can talk to any military man and he will tell you that 80 percent of the actions that you must perform in a counter-revolutionary war are non-military and only 20 percent will be security forces activities."

"Take an area like Lebowa, and I'm talking from practical experience, when we had trouble there. The security forces were all over there, but you haven't got government officials in the bushy areas and the isolated areas where we sent our troops in. They discovered that there is no water, no medical aid and so on.

"We sent our soldiers to every bush and they'd come back with a long list of needs, shortcomings and so on in the welfare fields."

DP's Zach de Beer Addresses Benoni Fundraiser
MB1406210589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2047 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Benoni June 14 SAPA—South Africa needed a government that would treat its people fairly so that conflict may cease and the economy would flourish, co-leader of the Democratic Party [DP], Dr Zach de Beer, said today.

Addressing a fundraising meeting tonight, he said he believed soaring government expenditure was at the root of many of the country's major economic problems. He said the reason for overspending by the government was the National Party's determination to maintain as much apartheid as it possible could.

"The financial isolation of South Africa in the world, of which Mr Barend du Plessis (minister of finance) complains so much, is the direct result of the apartheid policy. So too is the continuing risk of military action against us." He said that what the country needed was a party and a government that could build a united nation with a common patriotism.

At the meeting winner of the women's section of the Comrades Marathon, Frith van der Merwe, pledged her support for the DP.

Trade Surplus Drops 'Relatively Sharply' in May
MB1606144389 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] South Africa's trade surplus dropped relatively sharply in May.

Figures released by the Department of Customs and Excise in Pretoria indicate that exports dropped by 3.5 percent to 4.36 billion rands, while imports rose by more than 4.5 percent to 3.9 billion rands. This reflects a surplus for May of 460 million rands compared with 817 million rands for April and 800 million rands for May 1988.

The surplus for the first 5 months of 1989 totals 4.04 billion rands, which is 460 million rands more than during the same period last year.

23 Jun Press Review on Current Problems, Issues
MB2306111989

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Criticism of Hillbrow Pool Demonstration—The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 23 June says according to a group of Democratic Party [DP] councillors, blacks, and Indians, "the way to demonstrate that Johannesburg swimming pools have not been legally reserved for whites only was to take a mixed dip in the Hillbrow pool." Johannesburg City Councillor Tony Leon "has introduced confrontational politics into the city council, and likes to attract attention to himself and his cause in a most aggressive way." "Opening municipal amenities is a thorny question that has to be dealt with in a calm atmosphere. The actions of the DP councillors merely create unnecessary waves."

THE STAR

Criticism of NP Spending—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 June on page 12 says that after 41 years of National Party [NP] rule "South Africa now has a national debt of Third World proportions, a sick economy, millions homeless or jobless or both, and yet the government still manages to hire a Boeing 707 to fly guests to a Cape tea party in honour of the state president's wife." THE STAR suggests politicians "cast their minds back to the days when this country was respectable; when it had one parliament (not 11), one prime minister (not 10), no state president (not five) and when its leaders were more humble, less secretive, and went to private affairs in their own cars."

State Focuses on Campus 'Red Threat'—"The response to the recent mass police raid on Wits [Witwatersrand] University campus is eerie," notes a second editorial on the same page. "In a normal society almost every layer of any democratic structure, from the cabinet ministers and education authorities to city councils and ratepayers, would question so flamboyant a police action. But the only noisy response in this case came from the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], which has devoted three broadcasts to the campus rooi gevaar [red threat]." Witwatersrand University is "caught in an undemocratic squeeze: the university is conformist by international standards; dangerously red in a local election."

BUSINESS DAY

Unions Create Social Service Schemes—Alan Fine writes on page 5 of Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 23 June: "In the absence of an adequate welfare net in SA [South Africa], unions are beginning to create—through negotiation with employers—their own social service schemes which could play a significant role in a post-apartheid economy. Already in place are some

sophisticated provident funds, and moving into the pipeline are creative schemes ranging from the provision of housing to medical care." Fine says "once the large bulk of the organised, and therefore influential, sector of black SA holds an important degree of control over these areas of life it would be extremely unwilling to hand it over one day to grey (or any other colour) bureaucrats who may seek such control."

SOWETAN

Apartheid Reform Contradictory—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 23 June in its page 6 editorial sympathizes with "Morris Flynn who this week chose to go to jail for 100 days rather than pay a fine for sawing off an apartheid sign on Durban's South Beach on Christmas Day." "Chances are that the leader of the national party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, is telling European leaders this week that there has been progress in dismantling apartheid. It would be interesting, therefore, to be a fly on the wall during his talks just to listen to Mr de Klerk explaining Mr Flynn's jailing."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Reasons for State's Possible Bill of Rights Approval— "Liberals who have for years pressed the government to enact a bill of rights may be in for a shock in the next year or two: it might just enact one," says Steven Friedman in his "Worm's Eye" in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 23-29 June on page 12. But, "if it does enact it, it will do so because it believes that it can entrench the bill without moving at all from its insistence on a racially-based political system." Those who campaign for the bill because it "will guarantee the end of apartheid are, therefore, likely to be disappointed. But those who do so because they believe it will place apartheid on the defensive and strengthen its opponents may well find that it lives up to expectations."

CAPE TIMES

Editorial Urges Koevoet Removal From Namibia—The Koevoet [Crowbar] police counterinsurgency unit in Namibia "keeps turning up like a bad penny," says a page 8 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 21 June. At a time when returning South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] exiles "need to be persuaded that free and fair elections are at last possible in a territory dominated for so long by South Africa's military presence, the unit continues as if it were a law unto itself." CAPE TIMES believes Koevoet "has no place in the new order. It was trained almost exclusively to hunt down and kill SWAPO guerillas. Now those same guerillas are voluntarily taking part in the new democratic process. A spokesman for Mr Pienaar said that the Administrator-General was conscious of the 'perception' of Koevoet and was trying to take action to remove this perception. He's got it wrong. The perception of Koevoet seems pretty accurate. What must be removed is Koevoet itself."

Praise for Institute's Ideas on Postapartheid RSA— Anthony Johnson writes in his "Midweek Politics" column on the same page that the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa [IDASA] has been "one of the Government's favourite whipping boys." But F.W. de Klerk is likely to find on his European tour European leaders "insisting that his government follow the course IDASA has been advocating." It "entails engaging all sides in the political drama in frank discussion to help prepare the way for the difficult transition to a post-apartheid, and hopefully democratic, South Africa [RSA]." However, "this has never been a prospect relished by the National Party, whose chief preoccupation over the years has been, and remains, how to best buy time to preserve white power and, to increasingly lesser extent, white privilege."

TRANSVALER

'Cracks' in Democratic Leadership— "The Democratic Party's attempt to put the National Party in a bad light by alleged attempts to strike deals to ensure certain constituencies do not fall into Conservative Party [CP] hands, places the DP itself in a bad light," says Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 21 June in a page 6 editorial. "It again shows the cracks in the DP's troika leadership and how difficult it is for the party to speak with one voice." TRANSVALER believes Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan want to do "as much damage possible to the NP, whether it is advantageous for the CP or not." The DP has "no hope of beating the NP, but wants to weaken it so that it can be forced into a coalition with the DP, despite the damage the CP may do to reform."

DIE BURGER

Democrats 'Soft' on Security—The "strong suspicion" that the DP is "soft on national security" has recently been confirmed by Zach de Beer, who "emphasized in a television interview that if the DP is to come to power, the restrictions on the African National Congress [ANC] and the South African Communist Party [SACP] would be lifted," notes Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 21 June on page 18. "The DP's view is that unless members of these organizations break the law or threaten national security, the situation can be dealt with through normal legal procedures." "The ANC/SACP alliance has stated unequivocally that it has only one aim if it does not get its way: the violent overthrow of the government and the taking of power through the barrel of a gun. A soft approach like the one the DP advocates will simply be swept aside by such an onslaught. That is why the old Progressive Federal Party could not be trusted when it came to security matters, and now the DP also cannot be trusted."

BEELD

Banquet Cancellation Sign of NP 'Tension'—A page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 22 June says: "Now that the NP has postponed the banquet in honor of the state president, it will no longer be a secret to anyone that there is serious tension between P.W. Botha and the party he worked for for so many years. Precisely the fact that no reasons for the cancellation were supplied will confirm the public's worst suspicions." "The whole issue of his illness and retirement as leader of the NP could have been different if he had listened to good advice and also resigned as head of state when it was clear that his time was up. Appeals for him to do so were made not only in the country's interest (which has now practically been without effective government for 6 months) but also in his own interest."

BEELD

CP Election Promises Misleading—"The CP is promising the public the world to win support for the 6 September election," remarks an editorial on page 8 of Johannesburg BEELD. "Because it knows there is no possibility of it coming into power, it can make the most wonderful promises without any pangs of conscience that it may actually be called to account for them." "Voters should not allow themselves to be led by the nose by political opportunists who use grievances (sometimes justified grievances) as a shield to hide behind and avoid questions on policy."

Press Review for 26 Jun

MB2606102789

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

Qwelane Questions Namibian Administrator 'Impartiality'—Jon Qwelane writes in his "Just Jon" column on page 11 of Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 25 June "the key-word in Namibian politics these days is 'impartiality,'" and "how politicians and, most of all, administrators can ever hope to be impartial in this particular instance is beyond me." "For more than 22 years SA [South Africa] has been involved in a war against SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], and for much longer than that has stubbornly clung to ruling Namibia against the wishes of many of its people and those of the international community." Therefore, Qwelane "cannot see South African-appointed administrators, no matter how much they tried, being 'impartial' except in a sense understood only by South Africans."

NP 'Squabbles' Overshadow Country's Political Problems—The page 14 editorial states: "This should have been the week when all eyes were focused on Mr F.W. de Klerk and his meetings in Europe." Instead, an "angry" P.W. Botha, "who is in a deep sulk, did it without

uttering a word in public." By refusing to attend a farewell banquet in his honor P.W. Botha illustrated "the deep anger and division which lurks within his breast and within the National Party [NP]." "The NP's internal squabbles are again being allowed to overshadow the real economic and political problems facing this country. Mr Botha has in the past been justifiably accused of putting the NP's interests before those of the country. Now it appears he is so lacking in statesmanship that he is putting his ego and private need to express displeasure before even the interests of the Nats."

SUNDAY TIMES

Criticism of P.W. Botha Reluctance To Relinquish Office—P.W. Botha is "displaying in near-retirement the kind of graceless petulance about which we should probably have been forewarned as his conduct in recent years changed from merely irritating irascibility to alarmingly imperious arrogance," observes a page 20 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 25 June. "South Africa finds itself saddled with a head of government who—self-indulgently and to fulfil some kind of egocentric purpose known only to himself—insists on hanging on to office without contributing significantly to the workings of the State." President Botha, "having foolishly brushed aside advice to step down as head of Government when it became clear that his time had come, should reconsider his position. Surely neither he nor those close to him wish to see his reputation and his dignity so ruinously dented that, come September, he will virtually be obliged to skulk, unsung and unloved, into retirement."

Elections for Angolan Peace—A second editorial on the same page welcomes the fact that "peace now appears at hand" in Angola with "proposals for a government of national reconciliation." However, the editorial cautions that "once the leaders of the warring factions have reached cosy agreement, they should not allow themselves to become forgetful. If the war was fought for anything, it was to allow the holding of elections. And the sooner, the better."

THE CITIZEN

Boycott Punishes Mostly Blacks—The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 26 June comments on the cancellation of the Commodores' concert at Sun City, saying the appearance "would not prop up apartheid, since there is no apartheid there. Apartheid in South Africa is breaking down—and there is no better evidence of this than in the music industry itself, where there is no apartheid in recording or performing. It's time the boycotters and blackmailers realised they are not just punishing Whites but also Blacks (about eighty percent of those who have already bought tickets for the concerts are Black)."

THE STAR

MPLA-UNITA Agreement 'Promising'—The agreement reached between the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] "is being viewed with caution in diplomatic circles, it is nevertheless the most promising move yet taken towards reconciliation in Angola," says Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 26 June in a page 14 editorial. "A great political gap still yawns between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA. But at least the first concrete steps have been taken towards closing that gap." "It may turn out that the first step was the hardest one and that, once taken, it will generate momentum strong enough to overcome obstacles that now seem insurmountable."

BUSINESS DAY

De Klerk's 'Fence-Sitting Compromise' To Fail—"The real fight for the soul of white South Africa will come as De Klerk, the eternal compromiser, tries to find some fence-sitting compromise with the idea of a just society—and fails," says editor Ken Owen of Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 26 June on page 4. "Nobody can foresee with any certainty what consequences will flow from that failure, but we may be sure of turbulent times. The disintegrating National Party will have to function under the threat of defections and losses on both flanks, whether by defeat in by-elections or by betrayal in caucus. Talks of coalitions, to left or to right, is bound to become a permanent feature of politics." "When the Nationalists have vanished into the night, it will do no good to vanish with them; we shall need a new power base on which to build a new party."

RAPPORT

RSA Cannot Avoid Foreign Influences—The Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans of 25 June declares in a page 26 editorial: "South Africans in many ways exhibit a strange but understandable ambivalence on foreign interference in their affairs. Either there is strong opposition to foreign interference in South Africa's domestic affairs or there is a call for interference to change the existing order here. With Mr F.W. de Klerk's current visit abroad, the middle road seems evident: Even he has emphasized that South Africans must find their own solutions, but his very visit there is an admission that South Africa cannot be cut off from foreign influences." "One thing cannot be ignored, and that is that good

relations at home depend on the best possible relations with the outside world." "What the outside world is asking of us is mainly what the government has committed itself to: a South Africa free from discrimination—even though there are differences on how to achieve that. But, and this remains the root of the matter, it is to South Africa and its people that the government gave that undertaking, certainly not without the realization that this would involve a long and difficult road. In the end, this country's salvation lies in the government bringing forth this ideal and vision in the manner that Mr de Klerk is explaining to foreign audiences. What is good enough for South Africa's people ought then to be good enough for the outside world."

P.W. Botha Better Reformer Than Party Boss—In a review of P. W. Botha's achievements and failures, Prof Hermann Giliomee explains in an article on page 27 of RAPPORT: "One must look at President Botha and his era in a particular historic and theoretical framework before judging him. South Africa can be seen from two perspectives: the ethnic one sees two nationalisms, with Afrikaners and Africans in a struggle for the same fatherland. According to the classical perspective, the key factor is the fact that whites control 90 percent of the factors of production. The question then is: How much maneuverability has a white politician who has to work in such a system while being responsible to a white electorate? The answer must be: a bit, but not much. In this light, President Botha's achievements are more, rather than less, remarkable. It then becomes a miracle that he was able to reform some of the most offensive characteristics of apartheid while broadening the basis of the parliamentary system as a whole." "But President Botha's great shortcoming was that he failed to gain general domestic acceptance of his reforms." "Another major shortcoming was his dangerous inability to determine the limits of his powers and those of the state." "But it was particularly his inability to protect his own political base, the Afrikaner, that eventually caused great damage." "Even his relations with the largest Afrikaans newspapers gradually deteriorated, leading to estrangement. When, early this year, President Botha made the mistake of resigning the post of party leader, he suddenly discovered that he had been isolated." "The deteriorating relations with the Afrikaner political elite had reached its climax. President Botha was, above all, a party boss, and ought therefore to be judged as such. The irony is that he did much better as a reformer, and much worse as a party boss, than anyone could have expected when he became state president in 1978."

Angola

Savimbi Rejects 'Preconditions' for Talks

MB2606182089 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1530 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Interview with UNITA President Dr Jonas Savimbi by Steve Lang, from the "Africa South" program; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lang] During the last few days, there has been a considerable amount of confusion over exactly what happened in Zaire in the negotiations between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Dr Savimbi, could you give us details about what actually happened?

[Savimbi] What happened was that, after African heads of states—there were eight at the time—met in Luanda, 16 May, for them, they got a plan from the MPLA, what they call a peace plan for [word indistinct]. So, President Mobutu of Zaire was appointed to be a mediator between the MPLA and UNITA. President Mobutu came to us with that plan, and we accepted some points, and we rejected other points. So, then, the time had come. So, on 22 June, for him, President Mobutu to present his report to the heads of states of Africa, and there—this time 18 plus 2 delegations—20 (?countries) were represented. And, then, it is why we were called there because the negotiations between us and President Mobutu had reached some conclusion. From there, when we went to Gbadolite was for us to put our case through the report of President Mobutu to other (?heads of states) and also MPLA to argue its case, and then we feel very satisfied that that summit has adopted principles of peace, cease-fire, national reconciliation, under government of national unity and to appoint a commission which will discuss the implementation of those principles. And I think it started last night, and this is the real version of what happened in Gbadolite.

[Lang] Could you give us some details about the agreements that were reached in Gbadolite?

[Savimbi] The cease-fire is one of them [words indistinct], which is one of them, national reconciliation also. But the details of those principles would be worked out by the commissions, even if the heads of states did not discuss the details of how they are going to implement the cease-fire, for example.

[Lang] According to the terms of that accord, there will be elections held in Angola in the near future. Will UNITA be able to participate as an independent party?

[Savimbi] I think the problem of elections is, elections have only a meaning. If you have two parties or three parties, one party cannot make elections against itself. That is why we think that if we want to put a face to democracy in Angola, UNITA has to be UNITA and the

MPLA, MPLA; and then we will see the outcome, if it will be necessary again for a (?coalition) government or the constitution has to guarantee the political opposition to the government.

[Lang] So, will you say that, essentially, what was achieved in Gbadolite was an agreement to negotiate?

[Savimbi] Definitely! An agreement to negotiate but also an agreement to have committees, to execute as soon as we can the cease-fire. And also, it was accepted that, in Angola, it was necessary for national reconciliation, which has for years [words indistinct] a government of national unity.

[Lang] In the press, there has recently been a lot of comments and speculation about Dr Jonas Savimbi going into exile. What are your comments?

[Savimbi] I think it was not discussed in Gbadolite, and nobody could just discuss it, and no one did. And we put our views to President Mobutu, who presented them to other heads of states. But when you talk about reconciliation, we start to say we have it too early, we don't agree to [words indistinct] don't want reconciliation. That is one.

The second, I think it is the prerogative of UNITA members to choose their own leadership as well as recognize that for the MPLA.

Thirdly, I think that the African heads of states who are now busy and who are serious to bring peace to Angola, they do not want to prolong the war. They do not want anyone to pull out from negotiations, and I think that speculation will add nothing that can build confidence on UNITA. But as it was not said we would not accept an [words indistinct] we feel confident. Lastly, if the MPLA has accepted [words indistinct] it is because they have failed to wipe us out, because their aim for years was not to talk about peace but to destroy UNITA. And this was not possible, and now the Cubans are leaving; that is why I think the MPLA have accepted to talk. I don't think that anyone should approach the talks with preconditions because our position is that we can all win peace if we have no [words indistinct] and now rely upon the Angolan people.

Not 'Prepared' To Leave Country

MB2706070889 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Interview with UNITA President Dr Jonas Savimbi by Peter Theron at Jamba; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Theron] Dr Savimbi, are you prepared to leave Angola in order to achieve national reconciliation in your country?

[Savimbi] I think it is completely the contrary. If I leave Angola who is going to lead UNITA into this process of national reconciliation? It is completely wrong and paradoxical. If they had defeated UNITA, they could not have talked to us. Because they did not, they need to talk to us. Then, who is going to be the leader of UNITA to say let us move closer to the MPLA? It was never put to me, and it will never be put to me because it is completely in the contrary to the logical process of thinking. Then, if you have war between warring parties, you want reconciliation; you need the leaders to come together. You don't need to take some leader out. If you do, then you don't want reconciliation. It was never put at Gbadolite, at no forum, and I hope no one will put it because it doesn't make sense.

[Theron] So, how do you see your future position in Angola?

[Savimbi] I think that so long we are negotiating, I am the leader of UNITA, then I will have all my troops, all my people to understand that we need really national reconciliation. We need to continue negotiating and as a leader of UNITA I think I have a lot to do.

[Theron] Do you believe that the cease-fire will hold?

[Savimbi] I think that a cease-fire on UNITA's side was not something new because we were already in a state of cease-fire since February. For the MPLA it is a little bit difficult because they gave, they started to give orders only on 24 [June] midnight. I have seen some of those orders, but in some other areas they still have some skirmishes, but we cannot say that it is a big fight going on.

[Theron] Dr Savimbi, do you think a democratic election in Angola is possible?

[Savimbi] Yes, and it's not only possible, it is necessary because for the fact that you have two armies, two parties which are going now into negotiations to find a common ground. Then, you will need, second, the approval of the people who are going to be the leaders of the nation. Then I think that elections are not only less possible but are necessary.

[Theron] Would it be possible that UNITA members be, for instance, accommodated in a future Angolan government?

[Savimbi] No, there is no question of accommodating anything. Because, even the document which is an official document that was produced here this morning in this conference, that there is no word of integration, and that is a step very far from now. Let us start from the beginning. The beginning for us, first, it is to create an atmosphere of mutual trust. Then, second, to discuss the techniques and the process of a cease-fire and monitoring. Then, we move slowly until we are going to get how we are going to share power. It's not where we are today.

Hopes Joint Committee Works Quickly
*MB2706143989 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 27 Jun 89*

[Text] UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi says the organization is working to transform some of its military institutions into political ones as part of the Angolan peace process.

Dr Savimbi said in an interview at his Jamba headquarters, in southern Angola, that he expects the UNITA-MPLA joint commission, which meets later this week in Kinshasa, Zaire, to work quickly. He said that a breakthrough could come within weeks, permitting him to start dismantling his army and move into the political arena.

The formation of the joint commission was agreed to last week during the first round of peace talks at Gbadolite, Zaire, at which a formal cease-fire was announced.

Savimbi News Conference at Jamba Broadcast
*MB2706091289 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 Jun 89*

[Text] Comrade Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, army general, president of the movement, and supreme commander of FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], gave a news conference in Jamba yesterday afternoon. The conference was attended by several national and foreign newsmen. The main theme of the conference was the Gbadolite summit meeting which gathered together 20 African countries, 18 of which were represented by their respective heads of state. Comrade President Savimbi was also present and played a key role in the successful outcome of the summit.

In his introductory remarks to the news conference, Comrade President Dr Savimbi said:

[Begin Savimbi recording in English] Well, the MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] today is saying some new things which do not correspond to the spirit of Gbadolite. They are just repeating their peace plan. They are not saying what has happened in Gbadolite. Those who have at their hands—I think perhaps it was distributed—the Gbadolite declaration, page three, No 6, you find that it was a compromise between the MPLA peace plan and the proposals of President Mobutu. Then we responded to the proposals of President Mobutu and not to the peace plan of the MPLA. And the conclusions reached at Gbadolite are as follows:

No 1) Peace in Angola; No 2) cease-fire; No 3) national reconciliation; No 4) the formation of a commission to study the way to implement the principles that I have mentioned above. [end recording]

Comparing the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] negotiations plan with that of the MPLA, Comrade President Dr Savimbi said:

[Begin Savimbi recording in English] In our program for 14 years we were asking peace, national reconciliation, government of national unity, and elections. The elections were not approved at Gbadolite. It does not mean at all we have given up elections, but the other points were accepted, as you can read here: peace, cease-fire, national reconciliation, thus (agreeing with) the program of UNITA.

When it comes to the program of MPLA —integration—we have rejected it completely and frontally. We cannot be integrated into the MPLA. [end recording]

Press Release at 21 Jun Jamba News Conference

*MB2206081789 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0545 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[“Press release” issued at a news conference held in Jamba on 21 June]

[Text] 1) After 14 years of war in Angola, peace can finally be in sight thanks to growing efforts being made at home and by the international community, particularly the great involvement of African leaders, namely Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko. In fact, the search for lasting peace has been backed by the diplomatic efforts made by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] over the past years, even when Angolan freedom fighters were ready to resist the aggressive Soviet-Cuban occupation. UNITA has not set any preconditions for beginning peace talks with the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]-Labor Party. In fact, the 1986 peace plan adopted at the Sixth UNITA Congress, which was held in Jamba in August 1986, outlined the basic principles to end the war and to establish national reconciliation: the acceptance by the two warring factions that there can be no winners in this armed conflict, and the need to accept dialogue as a means to solve political differences.

2) During his visit to the United States in June 1988, President Jonas Savimbi announced a four-point peace plan with a view to reiterating and emphasizing UNITA's efforts to find a solution for Angola.

At news conferences in February and March 1989, Dr Jonas Savimbi unconditionally offered a unilateral cease-fire to the MPLA-Labor Party, valid until July 1989. This offer was designed to facilitate a Cuban withdrawal, to establish possible conditions for future cease-fire talks, and to reopen the Benguela railroad. A 12-man delegation was established to hold direct talks with the MPLA-Labor Party.

3) Unfortunately, the MPLA-Labor Party has never given a constructive response to UNITA appeals and initiatives. Instead, it has preferred to escalate the conflict, bringing in more Cuban troops and Soviet weapons.

4) As the international community became increasingly aware of Angola's tragedy, and following the signing of the December accords on Namibia's independence and the Cuban withdrawal from Angola, further African leaders stepped up their efforts to persuade the MPLA-Labor Party to adopt a constructive attitude.

5) It is in this context that the role played by President Mobutu has become crucial in making the MPLA-Labor Party change its positions and accept negotiations.

6) UNITA's basic goals have been clearly stated: the MPLA-Labor Party's recognition of the need for national reconciliation; a permanent cease-fire; the formation of a transitional national unity government; the creation of institutions which will enable the Angolan people to freely and democratically express their wishes; and free elections.

7) Delegations for such talks should be established with powers to discuss the aforementioned points and related issues. Accordingly, UNITA named its delegation. Based on guarantees given by the MPLA-Labor Party to President Mobutu, whereby the MPLA-Labor Party had accepted UNITA's proposals, the latter's delegation left for Kinshasa for the agreed-upon meeting with the MPLA-Labor Party delegation.

8) The UNITA delegation has left in good faith, convinced that the MPLA-Labor Party will act accordingly rather than disappoint President Mobutu in his mediation efforts. The key issue for peace and national reconciliation is that there should be direct negotiations between the duly empowered UNITA and MPLA-Labor Party, regardless of the venue or mediator. We cannot see other ways of achieving the legitimate ideals of the Angolan people for a true national reconciliation.

9) Expectations are running high, both in Angola, where all Angolans aspire to peace, and in the region as a whole. However, we note with concern the statements that were made by MPLA-Labor Party officials Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Afonso van Dunem Mbinda on 20 June in Lusaka, and on 16 June 1989 in Maputo, respectively. They stated that there have been no direct meetings between UNITA and MPLA-Labor Party delegations, but only through intermediaries, thereby contradicting guarantees given by the MPLA-Labor Party to President Mobutu. This is an indication of the MPLA-Labor Party's determination to undermine the prospects of any success during this first round of talks. Therefore, the MPLA-Labor Party should be held responsible for the continuation of the situation in Angola, and for the disregard of efforts being made by those world leaders who are determined to find a solution.

10) UNITA reiterates its total support for the ongoing process and once again sincerely thanks President Mobutu Sese Seko for his efforts. Dr Jonas Savimbi is determined to do his best so that the efforts of President Mobutu and other African leaders to find peace in Angola can bear fruit.

Reportage on Gbadolite Summit Condemned

MB2406100889 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Station commentary: "Our People Must Be Defended Against Enemy Maneuvers"]

[Text] Following the historic Gbadolite summit, certain international press circles, including the MPLA's [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] ANGOP, are increasingly engaged in attempts to hinder the first positive steps toward a genuine peace and national reconciliation in the country. UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] fundamental stands have always been clear. UNITA mounted the national resistance fight against the Soviets and the Cubans as a solid, principled political and military organization.

During the 14 years of struggle, UNITA has always been united and cohesive. UNITA is a principled movement that extends its hand to the MPLA as a solid political organization, and not as a gang of elements who must be integrated into the MPLA or any other political group. Attempts to propagate the integration theory do not correspond with the Gbadolite spirit. ANGOP's dispatch on the Gbadolite summit that was today carried by the Portuguese press is nothing but a diversion and a subtle move to confuse the national and international community. The plan of peace and national reconciliation will be studied by a commission established by the Gbadolite summit.

UNITA categorically rejects the policy of clemency presented by the MPLA. We must defend our people against enemy maneuvers. Our watchword is vigilance and discipline.

Long live national reconciliation. Long live UNITA. Long live our beloved President Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.

Dos Santos Receives Zairian Envoy 24 Jun

MB2406162689 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, received Nimi Mayidika Ngimbi, Zairian vice prime minister for political, administrative, and social affairs, today at Luanda's Futungo de Belas ward.

The Zairian official delivered an oral message from Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko to the Angolan head of state. [passage indistinct]

Gbadolite Summit 'Challenge to Maturity'

MB2606143089 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Station commentary: "Each Angolan More Angolan; Each African More African"—read by Pedro Correia]

[Text] For those who spent no less than 8 hours watching the movements of the large group of African heads of state in Gbadolite on 22 June, there were no doubts about the new course that the topic of discussion was following.

Hundreds of people were in the corridors of the Zairian president's palace, including members of presidential delegations, journalists, protocol personnel, and others. They were particularly influenced by the importance that the Gbadolite summit assumed. It was a challenge to maturity and a reaffirmation of African unity and solidarity.

The summit meeting itself had nothing to do with the so-called abstract vision [words indistinct] when referring to peace in Angola. Gbadolite did not mark the beginning or the end of the harmonization process. Above all, the [word indistinct] of war in Africa experienced a (?relapse). Psychological factors now render each Angolan more Angolan and each African even more African.

As for the issue of peace in Angola, there is evidence today of a cease-fire between the Angolan Army and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], starting at midnight on 24 June. This is a good sign for national harmonization, in the spirit of national reconstruction. Each Angolan who has examined the issue objectively and honestly must have arrived at a similar conclusion.

Currently, [words indistinct] continues to be the key to the end of the conflict [words indistinct] eventual winners and losers. The Angolan internal peace plan has immense possibilities, especially when one is primarily concerned with ending the current political and military situation in our country. We endured colonization first, and this war afterwards [words indistinct] the people's forces, which have the tradition and the potential to be very strong.

With the effective cessation of hostilities, a process of reintegrating UNITA elements into Angolan society could begin, in accordance with individual abilities, so we can consolidate national unity in a spirit of peace, (?organization), and [word indistinct].

It is only just to praise Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' political foresight in this process, which [words indistinct] it is not like a card game where one awaits the opportunity to use one's trumps advantageously. There is a real need for peace in Angola. This became obvious when we diagnosed in depth [words indistinct] economic and social development and the contribution [words indistinct] other southern African countries.

Foreign Minister Not To Accompany Mobutu to U.S.
MB2606194989 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1900 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem will not accompany the delegation of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko when the latter visits the United States later this week.

An official Angolan source says this decision, which contradicts previous announcements, was made in light of the successful Gbadolite talks on 22 June, where FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] agreed to a cease-fire.

Mauritius

Opposition Leader Gaetan Duval Arrested
AB2406103489 Paris AFP in English 0015 GMT
24 Jun 89

[Text] Port Louis, June 24 (AFP)—Sir Gaetan Duval, leader of the opposition Social Democratic Party of Mauritius (PMSD), was arrested here on Friday [23 June] in connection with a political murder committed in 1970, his lawyer said.

A police spokesman confirmed that Sir Gaetan, a former deputy prime minister, was arrested as he stepped off a plane arriving from Madagascar and held for questioning.

Sir Gaetan's lawyer, Kader Bayat, said police acted on the basis of accusations made by two people who have served prison sentences in connection with the murder in 1970 of Azor Adelaide, a supporter of the opposition Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM).

The lawyer said that Sir Gaetan had denied all the accusations against him.

Police Teargas Demonstrators

MB2606170789 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 26 Jun 89

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been a violent demonstration outside the Mauritius court, where the leader of the opposition PMSD, Sir Gaetan Duval, was expected to appear today.

He and his party withdrew from Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth's ruling coalition just 12 months ago, but today's case is all about an investigation into the killing of a political activist 18 years ago.

From Port Louis, Masud Khazi telexed this report:

A special police support unit used teargas to disperse about 3,000 demonstrators who had gathered near the Curepipe tribunal to see Sir Gaetan Duval, who was expected to be brought to court there. The demonstrators apparently got angry after the police used tear gas, and violent scenes broke out, resulting in the burning down and damaging of police cars as well as the smashing of shop windows.

Police then charged the demonstrators, mainly sympathizers and activists of the PMSD. There were many wounded among policemen and demonstrators and some PMSD activists were arrested. At least one local journalist was among the victims of the violence.

Duval, however, was not brought to the Curepipe tribunal, but was taken instead to that of central (?Souillac). Sir Gaetan Duval was arrested last Friday at the airport, returning from a short trip to Madagascar. He was brought to Port Louis, where he is still in custody in [word indistinct] barracks.

He was detained when police were asked to reopen the 1971 assassination case of an activist of Paul Beranger's MMM, Azor Adelaide, by a band of PMSD activists in Curepipe. Two of the criminals who were condemned to 20 years in prison have suddenly decided to swear affidavits against Duval, saying that the decision to commit murder was taken in Duval's bungalow and that Duval also asked them to kill Paul Beranger, who in fact escaped the attacks on that day.

At the court in central (?Souillac) today, the police objected to Duval's application for bail.

Ghana

Further on Government Crackdown on Churches

Police at Banned Church's Premises

AB2106074989 Accra Domestic Service in English
2000 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] The police are now guarding the Madina premises of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints following a break-in last Friday [16 June] by two white men and a Ghanaian believed to be members of the church. According to a member of the Zone-12 CDR [Committee for the Defense of the Revolution] Secretariat, Mr P.K. Agbonu, the three men took away documents and photographs of some government officials. He told the GHANA NEWS AGENCY that on that day, he and a colleague, Mr J.K. Quaye, visited cadres guarding the church premises. Mr Agbonu said when they entered the church, there was dead silence as a result of which they called out for the cadres. It was then that they heard some noise from the kitchen of the outer house. In the kitchen they saw the two whites and the Ghanaian loading a bag with documents they had apparently removed from the kitchen drawers. Mr Agbonu said when they picked up some of the documents, they saw the photographs of Mr Tsatsu Tsikata of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] Secretariat; Mr Kwamena Ahwoi, secretary for local government; Mr Fui Tsikata, a lecturer at the University of Ghana; and the secretary for lands and natural resources, Mr Kwame Peprah.

Paper on Suspended Religious Sect

AB2106115589 Accra Domestic Service in English
0700 GMT 21 Jun 89

[From the press review]

[Excerpts] The GHANAIAN TIMES continues its series under the heading: Drawing the Line. It says Jehovah's Witnesses is an American religious sect but it remains a rejected stock in America. According to the TIMES, the Jehovah's Witnesses sect has adulterated Christianity, but it has been exported to the Third World to seduce and attract adherence with a huge propaganda machine, including publications and colossal sums of money. Adherents are then brainwashed by being led to consider governments and political groups as unwilling allies of Satan. For this reason, they refuse to salute the national flag, they refuse to perform military service, and they refuse to take part in public elections. [passage omitted]

The TIMES recalls that the founder of the sect, Pastor Russel, predicted 1914 as the end of the times of the Gentiles, but here we are. Jesus Christ continues, the TIMES, says; what is Caesar's must be given to Caesar, and God's to God. But these simpletons do not follow the teachings of Jesus. They rather interfere in politics from their WATCHTOWER and KINGDOM HALL's. They do not recognize the sovereignty of state which

represents the interest of society as a whole. The TIMES points out that the flag is the symbol of our independence which they do not salute. It is not a mere piece of multicolored cloth but a symbol of honor, dignity, and national brotherhood. The TIMES believes that the government's action against this notorious religious sect serves the cause of society and true religion.

'Massive' Demonstration Staged

AB2306132689 Accra Domestic Service in English
2000 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] A massive demonstration has been staged through the principal streets of Winneba in support of the recent government action against four religious sects in the country. The demonstrators, including chiefs, cadres, assembly members, and traders, carried placards, some of which read: Freedom of Worship Does Not Mean Subversive Activities; Ban All Mushroom Churches; and To Hell With Mormons.

Addressing the demonstrators, the Ewutu-Efutu-Senya district organizing assistant of CDR's [Committee for the Defense of the Revolution], Mr F.A.K. Tagoe, called for an end to the unnecessary commercialization of religious sects in the country. He said the revolution is not out to deprive anyone of worshipping his or her creator through decent means. It would at the same time not allow any group of greedy persons to use religion to dupe and cleverly enslave millions of innocent citizens through the teaching of false doctrines.

The district secretary, Nii Kormey Abbey, attributed the growing indiscipline among the youth to false Biblical teachings of some churches. In the three-point resolution, the demonstrators called on the government to cast its net wider to stop all mushroom churches currently operating in school buildings and private houses and to inject a high sense of discipline into the activities of churches.

Religious Organizations Cautioned

AB2506204589 Accra Domestic Service in English
2000 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Excerpt] The Trinity College at Legon today held its 43d graduation and open day in Accra. A member of the Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC], Mr Justice D.F. Annan, was the guest speaker at the function. He used the occasion to urge all churches to take a critical look at their role in mobilizing the people for communal and productive ventures. Walter Dzokoto has the details:

[Dzokoto] Coming at a time of public and government concern about the negative activities of certain religious sects which had led to the freeze on the activities of two of such churches, many, including the graduating students, expected the guest speaker to announce more actions against such sects. Mr Justice Annan rather used

the occasion to re-echo the PNDC's belief in freedom of religion and worship. He, however, had a word of caution for all religious organizations:

[Begin Annan recording] Churches can primarily exist to bring man close to God, to promote the spiritual, moral, and ethical development of man. In this connection, the government also stresses accountability, probity, and integrity in public life, so that together church and state can provide the right environment for peace, stability, and pilgrimage. In this way, the physical and material welfare of each person is conditioned by a spiritual and moral well-being. The state and the church are therefore [word indistinct] in their own connection for the enhancement of the welfare of each individual member of the society. That is why the government does not and would not accept a situation whereby under the cloak of religion and freedom of worship any church or sect or religious group conducts itself in a manner which puts itself in headlong collision with the interests of the state, or a more sophisticated form which is to undermine the maintenance of public order and morality. Freedom of worship is a cardinal principle, and it has been enshrined in all of Ghana's constitutional enactments since independence. The PNDC still endorses this principle and will ensure that it remains a vital element of the constitutional theory and practice of our country. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Liberia

Defense Minister Suspended as Murder Suspect

AB2406115089 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1110 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] National Defense Minister Gray Allison has been suspended from office with immediate effect and is to be placed under house arrest. The national television station, ELTV, quoting a special release from the Executive Mansion last night, said the president took the decision to suspend General Allison late last evening based on security preliminary investigations which implicated Gen Allison in circumstances of the alleged murder of J. Melvin Payne. According to ELTV, Melvin Payne was found completely beheaded on Cadwell Road on 31 March 1989. President Doe has ordered that Gen Allison remain under house arrest until full investigations are completed by the joint security. Meanwhile, the president has appointed Deputy Defense Minister Anthony Togba to act as minister for national defense.

Dismissed by Doe

AB2606170189 Paris AFP in French 1529 GMT
26 Jun 89

[Text] Monrovia, 26 Jun (AFP)—Samuel Kanyon Doe, the Liberian head of state, has dismissed his defense minister, General Gray Allison, who has been implicated in a ritual murder case, the Liberian national radio announced today. The deputy health minister, General Boimah Barclay, has been appointed to replace him until

further notice, the Liberian radio said. Gen Gray Allison was considered the most powerful and the most feared of the members of the government in Monrovia. He also was one of the closest aides to the head of state. As minister of defense, a position he has held since 1983, Gen Gray Allison uncovered at least 6 attempted coups against President Doe, a former master sergeant who took power in a bloody coup in April 1980.

Gen Allison was suspected of taking part in a ritual murder and was arrested and placed under house arrest by President Doe pending investigations carried out by the police, the Army, and the immigration services following the murder of a policeman. The beheaded body of the policeman was discovered in a Monrovia district where General Allison lives. According to police, the dead man's heart had been removed.

This incident occurred at a time when the Liberian press has mentioned several human sacrifices in the country, especially in Maryland County in the southwest region of Liberia, the home county of Gen Allison.

To Face Prosecution

AB2606175089 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The minister of national defense and chairman of the Joint Security Commission, Major General Gray D. Allison, has been dismissed from his post by President Samuel Kanyon Doe. In taking the action today, the president was quoted by the national radio station as saying: The defense minister was being dismissed for his alleged involvement in the murder of Police Patrolman Melvin Payne in Cadwell last March.

The former defense minister is to face prosecution. According to an Executive Mansion release, President Doe has appointed Brigadier General Boimah Barclay as acting minister of national defense with immediate effect. He is to take over from Anthony Togba who was recently appointed as acting minister of national defense by the president. Brigadier General (Mansfield Yancy) has also been named by the president as acting deputy minister for administration replacing Gen Barclay.

Nigeria

Babangida Returns From Zaire Angolan Summit

AB2306071289 Lagos Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Nigeria and 19 other African countries have made a major breakthrough in efforts to resolve the internal crisis in Angola. At the end of a summit in Zaire yesterday, the OAU chairman, President Moussa Traore, announced that the two major parties to the conflict had decided to end the civil war. He told an international news conference that both the Angolan President, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader, Dr Jonas

Savimbi, had a fraternal handshake, signifying the end of hostilities. The OAU chairman said the event had opened a new era which would usher in peace and economic development not only in Angola, but in the whole of Africa. President Traore described it as a historic day for Africa and commended all the African leaders who had contributed in making it possible.

The meeting, which was convened by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, was attended by the Nigerian leader, President Ibrahim Babangida. In his address earlier, President Babangida had saluted the courage and magnanimity of the Angolan Government and the UNITA for their understanding. He commended President Mobutu for providing the [word indistinct] to resolve one of Africa's most difficult political problems. President Babangida returned to Lagos in the early hours of this morning.

Closed Schools To Reopen Based on 'Merit'
AB1906190189 Kaduna Domestic Service in English
1700 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] All the institutions of higher learning closed as a result of the recent disturbances in the country will not be reopened at the same time. The minister of education, Prof Djibril Aminu, said in Lagos today that the reopening of each institution will be determined on its merit. He was speaking at a meeting with vice chancellors, rectors, and provosts of the institutions. The minister, however, said it was not the intention of the government to keep the institutions closed longer than necessary.

Two Ondo State Schools To Reopen
AB2506181389 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1500 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Two institutions of higher learning in Ondo State, which were closed during the recent student disturbances, are to be reopened this week. The institutions are the State Polytechnic, Owo, which will resume normal academic activities tomorrow, and the College of Education [name indistinct] which will reopen on Tuesday.

The commissioner of education, (Mr Akhin Omojola), made this known in Akure.

*** NEC Cautioned on Guidelines' Enforcement**
34000552b Enugu DAILY STAR in English
23 May 89 p 3

[Text] With the lifting of the ban on political activities on May 3, by President Ibrahim Babangida, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) the next day issued its guidelines for the registration of political parties to contest elections towards the transition to civil rule in 1992.

The promptitude of NEC's action certainly portrayed both its leadership and the body itself as serious, organized and purposeful. Nigerians, and more importantly,

the political elite were immediately informed on what conditions the best qualified two of the numerous incubating political associations could be registered as political parties.

The guidelines given by NEC may be stringent as some people say, but if we have to usher in integral politics and cohesive nationalism in the imminent Third Republic; if we are to have at the helm of affairs, persons qualified for positions by their intrinsic and ethical qualities, not by fabulous wealth of dubious acquisitions; if we are to commit the fate of the nation to the hands of detribalized Nigerians, the NEC has to apply strict rules—and be firm and decisive too.

Definitely, any political association worthy of any serious consideration as a potential national political party, should have no problems meeting the specified criteria. Persons who complain about the NEC plumbline must be those who would want to fool the nation a third time.

Although the guidelines released appear to be water-tight as well as show evidence of circumspection, we still, however, have to warn the NEC to beware of appearances. Nigerians would want to have political parties thriving on broad-based national acceptability, not parties based on ethnic, religious and sectional interests.

In 1979, the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) was fooled and its intention to register political parties devoid of ethnicity and ethno-sectional preoccupations was aborted. While FEDECO looked the other way, the political associations simulated national features, putting on trans-ethnic and national costumes, whereas they were, in fact, ethnic formations for the furtherance of essentially ethno-sectional, rather than broad national interests.

In the end, the five political parties registered were essentially ethnic movements, led by ethnic war horses. The NEC guidelines will guard against a repetition of a sad past as well as ensure that plutocracy-government by the wealthy—is not engendered once more.

The NEC has however to be very wary of impressions that could be entirely unrelated with the realities. If we must have two political parties, such parties must hold every promise of providing the nation with what it has always desired—peace, stability, probity and accountability in office as well as prosperity.

This country needs an integrative political system that has no north or south and is neither muslim nor christian. The NEC must look behind any facades in deciding which political association are worthy of registration as national parties.

We congratulate the body on its comprehensive and labored guidelines and hope it will immortalize its name as the one that gave the nation ultimate peace and stability. So far so good.

*** NEC Chairman Defends Party Registration Fees**
34000552c Enugu DAILY STAR in English
22 May 89 p 1

[Article by Cyprain Madu]

[Text] The chairman of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), Dr Humphrey Nwosu, has defended the N [naira] 50,000 registration fee for any political association seeking to be registered as a political party by the commission.

He pointed out that the fee would not deprive any citizen of Nigeria that is not banned from participating in partisan politics, stressing that any political association that is serious and committed to win the massive support of the people, in the country, should be able to muster the support at least 50,000 Nigerians to raise such amount as non-refundable fee at the rate of one naira per member.

Speaking to the "Daily Star" in an interview, in Lagos, the NEC boss noted that there are 449 local government areas in the federation and that an association that is serious and committed, and really interested in providing the leadership of the whole country, should, at least, have an overall membership of two million people or enough membership to enable it pay the registration fee with ease.

Dr Nwosu further observed that Nigerians are not so poor that they cannot afford to pay N1 in a village meeting, more so, in a political association which is for the betterment of all in the country.

He said the commission does not want parties to be controlled by very rich individuals.

"That is why we encourage spread of membership so that the parties that will eventually emerge will be broad-based ones that cut across the entire segments of the country", he stressed.

He said that NEC is trying to avoid a situation where an individual can form a party, adding that if a political association of two million members collects N12 per member, it would raise N24 million, out of which N50,000 registration fee could be deducted.

Dr Nwosu recalled that in 1983, N50,000 could have worth much but not now that the situation has changed.

He appealed that people should conduct their investigation and analyze the situation before criticizing.

*** Political Aspirants Said To Use Herbalists**
34000552a Ilorin SUNDAY HERALD in English
21 May 89 pp 1, 9

[Article by Tunde Asaju]

[Text] As the count down to the registration of the stipulated two-parties begins political aspirants in most parts of Nigeria have begun a wild hunt for black power (juju) to give them a boosted ego and assurance.

Sunday Herald investigations covering Ilorin, Ilesa and some parts of Ondo State revealed that aspiring politicians and thugs now give herbalists sleepless nights and greasing their palms for efficacious charms to get them off trouble in the next political dispensation.

The politicians whose nocturnal visits to herbalists homes have forced some of the herbalists to evacuate their grown up children from home to house their new found clients who prefer to use the cover of the night to conceal their real identity and motives.

The safety conscious charm seekers are also very selective in their choice of charms. While some prefer the bee-hat which when removed and spread towards the direction of the enemy is capable of sending a swarm of bees on opponents and passers-by, others prefer charms which will render them invincible in trouble spots.

A herbalist's son in Ilesa who had to leave his father's house for disturbance said that the visitors start trooping in from 9 p.m. only to leave in the early hours of the morning.

He said that his father's clients cut across all ethnic, tribal and religious boundaries.

Another person just back from a tour of some parts of Ondo State expressed shock at the rate at which people now seek protection from guns and other powerful charms.

School children in Oyo, Ogbomosho, Osogbo and other areas around the west now wear protective charms and amulets to class rooms. Some also wear rings on their fingers which our investigation reveal are capable of doing many things.

Last Sunday in Adamo a remote village in Kwara, young man and his friend dared *precaribus* consequences when they went to the bush to test their new bulletproof charms which they confided took several months to prepare.

Shao a town in Kwara State notable for efficacious charms, receives a lot of visitors especially at night with cars parked on the major streets.

In another development, aspiring politicians and political parties have begun a nation-wide recruit of thugs with monthly stipends ranging from N250.00 per month to N300.00.

A muscular mechanic in Ilorin who was approached for the lucrative job expressed surprise and shock at the direct way he was approached.

He said that the recruiting officer gave the criteria for recruitment as tough visage and muscularity of prospective thugs but declined to disclose which of the groups wanted him for the job.

*** Niger Delta Basin To Provide Most Crude Oil**
34000551a Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English
22 May 89 p 1

[Article by Mike Oduniyi]

[Text] The Niger Delta Basin, which currently supplies the total hydrocarbon production of Nigeria, will remain the source of crude oil supply for a long time. This was as a result of low ratings for hydrocarbon prospects in the other seven basins in the country.

The seven basins identified as having potentials for hydrocarbon accumulation within Nigeria are, Sokoto, Borno/Chad, Bida, Benin Anambra, Benue and Deep Offshore.

An oil expert, Mr Richard Adelu who gave an analysis of drilling works carried out so far in these sedimentary basins last week in Lagos, rated only the Chad and Deep Offshore Basins as possible source for future crude oil supply, while the Anambra and Benin Basins were identified as gas and heavy oil prospecting areas. Sokoto and Bida Basins were ruled out of hydrocarbon prospecting due to the depths of rock formation which appeared to be too shallow.

The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) had already drilled ten wells so far in the Chad Basin spending about N140 million in the process. Of these wells, natural gas was discovered in three wells.

Shell, Agip Energy and Elf were said to have drilled in the Anambra Basin with discoveries of some oil in only one well and gas in four wells.

Based on these results, Mr Adelu of the Department of Petroleum Resources of the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy Resources, recommend a review of these basins with potentials for hydro-carbon prospecting.

According to him, the Chad Basin should be opened up to other investigators by giving the blocks in the basin as compulsory supplement to any other block offered in the low risk areas of the Niger Delta.

He also called for the review of the erstwhile strategy of investing in NNPC the authority for all open acreages in the country which may hinder investment of option to open up new basins for investigations in view of NNPC commercialization.

The Niger Delta where oil was first discovered by Shell in 1956 with an initial production of 4,000 barrels per day, is estimated to have proven reserves of 15.98 billion barrels with an estimated life span of 35 years at the current production rate of 1.35 million barrels per day.

In all, estimated petroleum resources available within the identified basins was put at 6.1 billion barrels of oil, including condensate which according to Mr Adelu, was significant to our national petroleum resource accounting to warranting a basinal study to be undertaken. They are distributed as follows:

Basin	(billion)	(trillion SFC)	(billion)
Anambra	1.951	2.054	1.951
Benin	14.18	—	—
Benue	0.633	6.663	0.633
Chad	577	—	—

Senegal

*** New, Democratic Elections Advocated**
34190216a Dakar FAGARU in French Apr 89 p 1

[Editorial by Yero De: "29 Years Later, Negotiations Must Begin"]

[Text] What does it mean, to govern? "It means solving the problems of the Senegalese people and ensuring order," said Abdou Diouf on that famous day of 14 March 1989. The entire country cried out, "You are absolutely right, Abdou, and that's just it. Since 1981, you and your schemes from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have only made things worse."

More than 22,000 workers have been laid off. The police force has been cut by 1,500. Housing complexes built by the people have been bulldozed under. There have been arrests, torture, war, and deaths in Casamance where Diouf's policies made independence look attractive. Joblessness has spread. Purchasing power has diminished. Insecurity has settled in everywhere. A parasitic segment of the population that took control of the government has embezzled and diverted funds abroad; banks have been plundered. The unlimited power of this segment, which has brought the economy to its knees, even made Dr Mamoudou Toure finally throw up his hands. Young people have not been given any hopes for the future. Another year of disrupted classes is looming because the

government does not want serious negotiations with university, secondary, and primary teachers who are very much open to dialogue and justified in their demands. The moral crisis—the most pernicious of them all—is gaining ground at a rapid pace.

Let us stop there in our recitation of this sad, endless list. Instead, let us look for the best way out of the impasse. A year after the elections were taken by force in February 1988, the country is at a standstill. No one is working anymore; everyone is waiting. For change. If a lasting political solution is not urgently reached, there will be a long deterioration and no one can predict how many sacrifices and how much time it will take us to reright the country. We believe that the situation is too serious to allow ourselves to be distracted by the manipulative games being played by Diouf and Collin inside the PS [Socialist Party] and in overseeing national policy.

As Abdoulaye Bathily has stated, the country is not asking for the moon; it simply needs a new political framework that will clarify the situation and spur the country to moral and economic health.

We must start over with new elections, freely and democratically held this time, on the basis of a set of voting laws negotiated by the political parties. We refuse to be told that it is not legally possible. Fraudulent elections are not only illegitimate, but illegal as well. There can be no claim to legality on the outcome of fraudulent elections. Moreover, there would be great popular support for a referendum on this question. In any case, everyone would accept the verdict if it is reached democratically. In such times as these, our country must take the path of reason and duty.

Any alternative that excludes early elections is anti-democratic and would re-ignite the political crisis in the short term. The alternative that the current government is gambling with carries the seeds of a military coup d'état. The only way to avoid it is for the popular movement to come into play. A great step toward this end would be the reunification of opposition parties behind clear objectives such as to draft and enact new voting laws and to demand and organize free and democratic elections.

*** Joint High Commission Set Up With Libya**
34190219a Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
18-19 Mar 89 p 7

[Joint Senegalese-Libyan communique]

[Text] From 12 to 14 March 1989, chief of state Abdou Diouf and a large entourage paid an official visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

With his host, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, guide of the 1 September Revolution, President Abdou Diouf held important meetings dealing with bilateral cooperation, matters of common interest, and current African and international political and economic issues.

An agreement on the establishment of a joint high commission on Senegalese-Libyan cooperation was concluded.

The following is the text of the joint communique published at the close of President Abdou Diouf's visit to Libya.

Responding to an invitation from Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, guide of the 1 September Revolution, Abdou Diouf, president of the Republic of Senegal, paid an official visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya from 12 to 14 March 1989.

The visit, which was significant from several standpoints, enabled the two chiefs of state to further strengthen the feelings of friendship and esteem they have shared for many years.

During his visit, President Diouf toured the Brega pipe manufacturing plant, the Syrte oil company, and the Ras Lanuf petrochemical complex.

These visits enabled him to see a few of the accomplishments of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya within the framework of its policy of social and economic development.

The two sides held important talks on bilateral cooperation and matters of common interest in terms of current African and international political and economic issues.

The discussions took place in an atmosphere of brotherhood, friendship, and mutual understanding and the two sides engaged in a thorough examination of problems of bilateral cooperation and exchanged views on the situation in Africa and the rest of the world.

On the bilateral level, the two nations expressed their desire to do everything possible to revive Senegalese-Libyan cooperation and strengthen it in all fields, particularly the political, social, economic, scientific, and cultural areas.

An agreement concerning the establishment of a joint high commission on Senegalese-Libyan cooperation was concluded.

The two sides decided to hold the first meeting of the joint high commission in Senegal.

In the international sphere, the two sides noted the profound similarity of principles that guide and channel their approach to major international problems and agreed to continue their joint efforts to promote the coming of a fairer, more united, and more peaceful world.

Examining the situation in Africa, both countries noted with satisfaction the positive evolution in the situation in Chad, southern Africa, and the Maghreb.

Reaffirming their support of the objectives and ideals of the United Nations and the OAU [Organization of African Unity], as well as the principles of nonalignment, both parties emphasized the right of African nations to handle their affairs themselves and determine their own destiny within a freely chosen framework, amidst unity and harmony, and free of any desire for domination or foreign interference.

The two sides also reaffirmed the inalienable right of African and Arab peoples to independence.

With respect to Namibia in particular, both expressed satisfaction with the application, effective 1 April 1989, of Resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council.

In this connection, they reiterated their decision to provide SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] with financial assistance so as to enable it, within the period of transition, to effectively conduct its election campaign looking to the coming elections in Namibia.

Evoking the situation in South Africa, the two nations reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of apartheid and reaffirmed their determination to spare no effort to eradicate that odious system.

They renewed their support for the fight being waged by the South African people and liberation movements to ensure respect for human rights and social progress.

Both welcomed the holding of the Second Summit Conference of chiefs of state of Maghrebian countries and the creation of the Union of the Arab Maghreb. They expressed the conviction that the dynamic of unity, solidarity, and integration of such an entity is such that it will contribute to the achievement of African unity.

Examining the situation in the Middle East, both sides paid special attention to the Palestinian problems.

They reaffirmed the unconditional support of their countries for the struggle of the Palestinian people and recalled that the institution of a just and lasting peace

necessarily depends on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to an independent, sovereign state.

The two parties also condemned the massive violation of human rights of which the Palestinians are the victims in the occupied Arab territories and hailed the Intifada movement that has grown up to oppose the Israeli occupation and its manifestations.

Concerning Arab-African cooperation, both sides expressed the need for its revival so as to adapt it to the potential of Arab and African countries united by indissoluble cultural and spiritual links.

They also exchanged views on the duty of all countries belonging to the Islamic Conference Organization (OCI) to work for the cohesion and stability of the Islamic community, so that the OCI, through the gradual realization of its objectives, will continue to improve its credibility on the international scene.

In such a spirit, the two countries decided to combine their efforts to ensure the complete success of the coming summit meeting of the Islamic Conference Organization scheduled to be held in Senegal.

Turning to the international economic situation, both expressed their strong concern over the world economic crisis whose harmful effects have a heavy impact on the economies of developing countries in general and African nations in particular.

They also reaffirmed the common determination of their countries to work to establish a fruitful dialogue between northern and southern countries and to call an international conference on Africa's foreign debt as soon as possible.

During his visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, President Abdou Diouf noted the immense progress made by the Libyan people under the lucid and effective direction of brother Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, guide of the 1 September Revolution, and wished to express his admiration for the remarkable results that are the living reflection of a policy made of wisdom, courage, and strictness.

At the close of his visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, President Diouf expressed his thanks to Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, guide of the 1 September Revolution, for the particularly warm welcome extended to him and for the caring attention paid to him throughout his stay.

Abdou Diouf invited Colonel al-Qadhdhafi to pay an official visit to Senegal. The invitation was accepted with pleasure and the date of the visit will be set by diplomatic procedures.

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DATE FILMED

28 June 1999

